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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME II, PARTS II AND III

THE NABALOI DIALECT

BY OTTO SCHEERER

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

BY EDWARD Y. MILLER

MANILA
BUREAU OF PUBLIC PRINTING
1905

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Manila, October 31, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit two papers, one a grammar and vocabulary of the Nabaloi dialect of Benguet, by Otto Scheerer, the other a brief account of the Bataks of Palawan, by Edward Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. I recommend that these papers be published as Parts II and III of Volume II of the scientific studies edited by the Survey.

Very respectfully,

MERTON L. MILLER,
Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey.

Hon. DEAN C. WORCESTER,
Secretary of the Interior, Manila, P. I.

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PREFACE

Some time ago the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine Islands, put into my hands a bound volume containing 450 pages—partly printed, partly in blank—a full programme for the ethnological study which he desired me to write of the Ibaloi Igorot of northern Luzon. Adverse circumstances did not admit of my filling out more than one chapter of general information about this tribe in addition to the twenty-nine schedules which were designed to take in an extensive vocabulary of its dialect.

From a desire to work out at least the linguistic part of this study to the full extent of my knowledge, I afterwards wrote in Japan and dedicated to the distinguished gentleman just named a paper entitled "Notes on the Nabaloi Dialect," in which I reviewed in a methodical manner the pronunciation of the language and the different parts of speech, giving under each heading idiomatic examples and finishing with a short conversation and a few notes on Nabaloi music and singing.

Both manuscripts were compiled into one paper by Dr. Merton L. Miller, the Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, who remitted the same to me for a final revision with many valuable suggestions. I have added a paper entitled "The Ibaloi Igorot seventy-five years ago," being the translation of an account of a Spanish expedition against this tribe in the year 1829 and taken from a work no longer easily to be obtained. This seemed to me to merit being brought to light again, as it is highly instructive on the past of the Ibaloi Igorot.

If the present memoir proves of interest I am sure this will be due to a great extent to the part taken in its completion by the excellent collaborators above mentioned. Complements like the pictures, the map, and other details (I mention only the much-to-be-welcomed spelling "Igorot" of The Ethnological Survey against "Igorrote" in my manuscripts) are indeed, as regards me, only "borrowed plumes."

OTTO SCHEERER.

TOKYO, *July, 1904.*

The thanks of The Ethnological Survey are due Mr. C. Everett Conant, of the Bureau of Public Lands, for looking over the manuscript of this paper. If Mr. Scheerer were in Manila he would be the first to express his obligation to Mr. Conant.

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THE NABALOI DIALECT

THE IBALOI IGOROT

TRIBAL NAME

The tribe whose language is discussed in the following pages is not commonly known by a special name, but is designated generally by the comprehensive term "Igorot." Another favorite Spanish term for this and other Philippine mountain tribes who obstinately refused to be converted was "infieles"—that is, pagans. This latter term is, of course, in no sense a tribal designation, but merely includes in one great group the people of the Philippines who did not accept Christianity.

The term "Igorot" first occurs in the chronicles, in its original form "Ygolotes," as a designation for the mountain people of the then unknown hinterland of Pangasinan and Ilocos (to-day known as the provinces and districts of Benguet, Kaiapa, Amburayan, and Lepanto); subsequently its use extended, and it has often been applied without discrimination to any number of non-Christian mountain tribes of north Luzon or of Luzon in general. This enlarged use of the name—though not wrong, if only etymologically considered—is misleading and should be discontinued to avoid further confusion.

More careful authors have employed the terms "Benguetanos" and "Igorrotes of Benguet," which, while more precise, still fail to distinguish the tribe here under review as a unit from its congeners in and around that same province.[1]

A native of Benguet, when asked by an outsider about his tribal connection, will answer, *Igudut-ak*—that is, "I am Igorot"—but let the same question be raised among natives from the south and others from the northwest of that province and it will elicit replies, *Ibaloi kame*—that is, "We are Ibaloi"—from the former, and *Kankanai kame*—that is, "We are Kankanai"—from the latter, in which replies a direct reference is made to the different dialects spoken by the two parties, namely, Nabaloi and Kankanai. I have therefore used the term Ibaloi

[1] It will be readily seen that "Benguetanos," for the purposes of this study, includes both too much and too little. The term includes properly all the people of Benguet, though some belong to the group here under review and some do not. The same may be said of "Igorrotes of Benguet," a term which includes all the Igorot in the province, both those speaking the dialect here considered and others, but fails to include those of the same speech outside of Benguet.

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Igorot as a clear and precise designation of that division of the Igorot who know themselves as Ibaloi and their language as Nabaloi.

The etymology of the words Ibaloi and Igorot is gathered from Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera's Etimología de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas and is as follows:

> Igorrote is composed of the root *golot* (mountain chain, in Tagalog) and the prefix *i* (dweller in, or people of) and means "mountaineer" (in German, Bergsassen).

The same author says:

> *Inibaloy* is the name of a dialect spoken by the Igorrotes, and this word, in Ilokano, signifies simply "language of strangers."

For further explanation Padre Carro's excellent Vocabulario Iloco-Español[1] gives us baliu, which is doubtless the same as *baloi*, meaning "the farther side of a river or of the sea," and *i-baliu*, or *taga-baliu*, "stranger or person from beyond the seas," such as the Chinese or European.

CHINESE INFLUENCE

I have not been able to discover among the Ibaloi Igorot with whom I have been in contact any tradition to support the idea of their having come from somewhere beyond the seas; but a reference here suggests itself to the followers of the Chinese corsair Limahong, who, when besieged in 1657 by the Spaniards in his encampment at the mouth of the Agno River, Province of Pangasinan, made good his escape, according to the chronicles, by abandoning part of his troops, who took to the hills. "It is popularly supposed," says John Foreman in his book, The Philippine Islands, "that from these fugitives descends the race of people in that province [Pangasinan] still distinguishable by their oblique eyes and known by the name of Igorrote-Chinese."

There is surely nothing markedly Chinese in the bodily appearance of the Ibaloi Igorot nor, as far as my knowledge of Chinese goes, in their customs and religious ideas, which on the contrary I take as typically Philippine to such an extent that we may study in their light the past of the civilized lowlanders. Spanish authors have been inclined to see an indication of Chinese influence in the frequent occurrence in the Nabaloi dialect of the Spanish *ch;* this is indeed uncommon in the other Philippine tongues, which seem more apt generally to pronounce this sound as *ts;* but even the Ibalois, who, on the supposition that they are descendants of Chinese, and who have the sound *ch* in their vernacular, would most likely retain the same in an imported Chinese word, have in their vocabulary the word *i-tsa* for the Chinese word cha (tea) (see *ch*, p. 102), which is known all over the

[1] Vocabulario Iloco-Español, Fr. Andres Carro, Manila, 1888.

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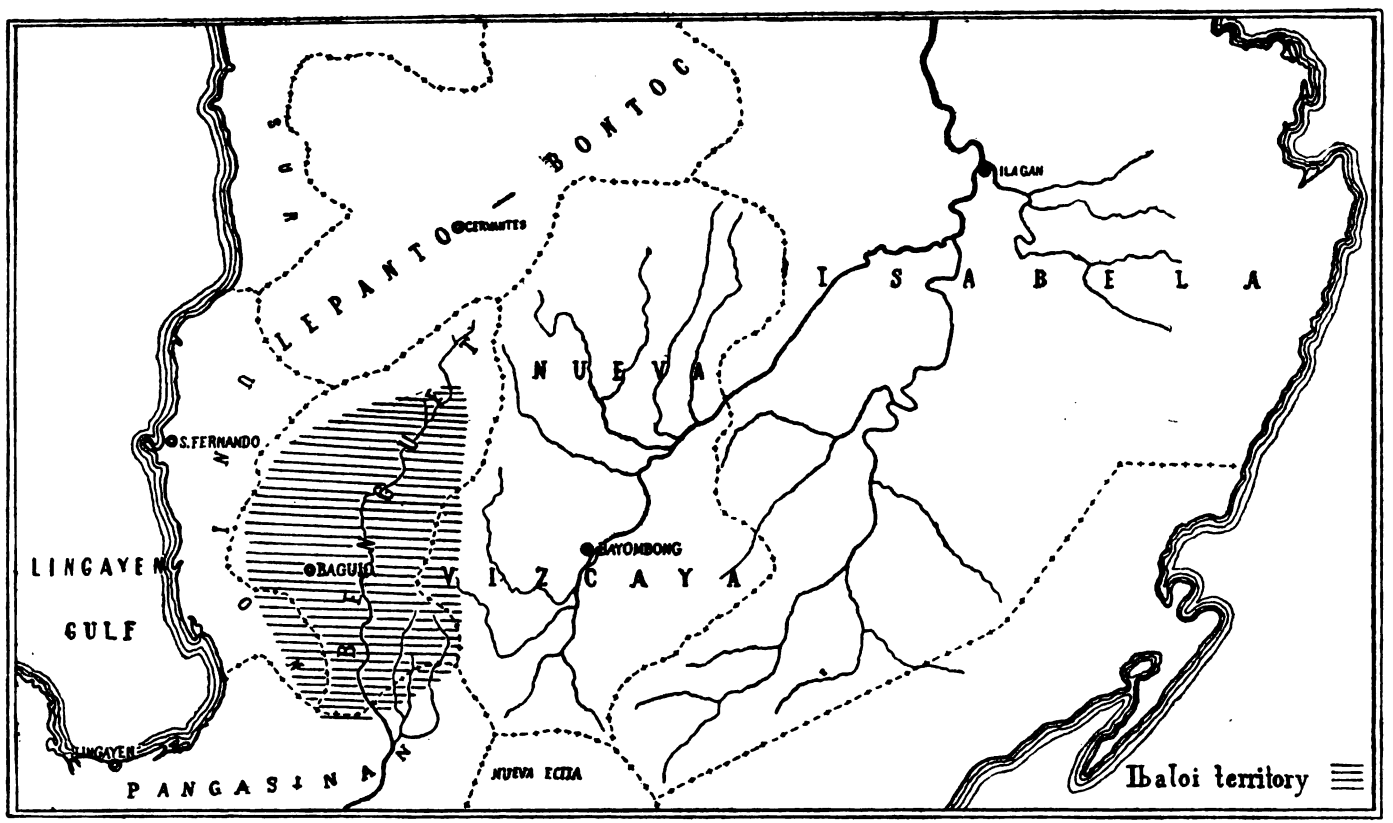

PLATE LXIII. SKETCH MAP, SECTION OF NORTHERN LUZON, SHOWING IBALOI DIALECT AREA.

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PLATE LXIV. LUCBAN, A BARRIO OF BAGUIO VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXV. RICE TERRACES, KABAYAN VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXVI. RICE TERRACES AND MOUNTAIN-SIDE UNIRRIGATED GARDENS, KABAYAN VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXVII. RICE TERRACES, AGNO VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXVIII. TYPICAL IBALOI DWELLING HAVING PINE-BOARD SIDES AND GRASS ROOF, PAKDAL BARRIO, BAGUIO VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXIX. TYPICAL IBALOI DWELLING, PICO VILLAGE. (CEREMONIAL PLATFORM IN FOREGROUND.)

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PLATE LXX. BEST-CLASS IBALOI DWELLING, TUBLAY VILLAGE.

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PLATE LXXI. IBALOI WOMEN. (GIRL ON RIGHT SIDE.)

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Islands. On the other hand, I have found among Ibaloi personal names some that are pure Japanese words, such as *karui* (in Japanese, "light," "not heavy") and *takai*[1] (in Japanese, "high," "dear"), and it is also interesting to note that one of the present headmen of the Igorot at Baguio, capital of Benguet, bears the very name of Limahong's lieutenant, Sioco, whom the old chronicler, Gaspar de San Agustin, states to have been a Japanese. Further investigation in this direction will show whether these are more than accidental similarities.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY

Several allusions have already been made to the location of the Ibalois and the extent of the territory occupied by them. The center of their territory is the country around Baguio, the present capital of the Province of Benguet; its limit in the north is fixed by the rancherias of Kabayan, Atok, and Kapangan; in the west by those of Sablan and Galiano; in the south by the rancherias situated in La Union and Pangasinan Provinces on the southern foothills of the Mangitkiran complex. From these last, however, must be excepted some that are peopled by Igorot, called by the Ibalois *bágu* (Ilocano, bágo, "newly arrived person," "newly converted Christian"), who, according to reports, were deported thither from farther north by the Spanish Government. The eastern limit would be the Agno River between Kabayan and San Nicolas but for some outlying Ibaloi settlements beyond the river in the district of Kaiapa.

The number of individuals composing the Ibaloi must be between 12,000 and 15,000. The total population of Benguet is 15,000, but it is doubtful if the number of Ibaloi Igorot living in La Union, Pangasinan, and Kaiapa would make up for the deduction to be made for Igorot residents in Benguet who are not Ibaloi.

For the surrounding tribes in whose midst the Ibaloi Igorot live they have the following names: Toward the northwest and the north, the *Kankanai* and *Katauguan* (Sp., Cataoan) Igorot; northeast and east, Igorot which the central body of Ibalois call *Búsol;* south, *Pangasinan, Idoko* (Ilocanos), and *Bagu*; west, *Idoko* (Ilocanos) and *Kankanai.* The term *búsol* is not so much a tribal name as a hateful designation of the head-hunting, cattle-thieving, and kidnaping Igorot living around and south of the mountain Data in what is sometimes called the *Kabusolan* or territory of the Búsol. With them the Ibalois have lived since olden times in deadly feud. (Compare the Ilocano words "búsol," hostility, and "kabúsor," he who wishes or does evil to another; enemy in war.) For the people living in the foothills and plains to the south and west, be they Christians or Igorot, the Ibaloi highlanders have also the general term *Ikaptangan*—that is, people living in the hot lowlands.

[1] Compare also Pangasinan atagey, "high."

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It is, of course, easy to see that the various divisions of the Igorot are more closely related one to another than they are to other tribes, but they do not have the idea of belonging to a race or nation in the same precise and developed form in which both ideas are present in our mind. Their scant culture and their natural inclination to live an independent and retired life in their mountains render them rather dull in conceiving and indifferent in retaining ideas that go beyond their immediate horizon—a disposition that does not, however, prevent their being shrewd though silent observers of what they see of the outer world. They are conscious of a closer kinship with the neighboring Igorot tribes and also of consanguinity with the Christian lowlanders from whom they are separated, more than by anything else, by the fact that the latter have adopted Spanish faith and civilization. The diversity of dialects, which to some would seem a great barrier, does not appear so to them, for what indeed are all these dialects, nearly uniform in roots, construction, and mode of expression, but so many variations of one and the same melody? If to the racial ties thus conceived is added their consciousness of living in the same land and of having shared, at the hands of the Spanish conqueror, for hundreds of years, more or less the same fate as the other colored Christian or non-Christian inhabitants, we can not doubt that the Ibaloi Igorot also are waking up to the idea of nationality.

ELEMENTS IN NABALOI

Until authentic vocabularies have been gathered from the tribes to the north and east,[1] making possible a more comprehensive study of Nabaloi, it must suffice to state that this dialect is composed of three elements, viz, Pangasinan, Ilocano, and a third which may be genuine Nabaloi or which will more probably dissolve itself again upon further examination into various components. The first two elements appear more or less disfigured by the different idiomatic pronunciation of these Igorot; the Pangasinan oala, meaning "there is," which becomes *guara*, and the Ilocano darayan, a kind of banana, which becomes *charayan*, may serve as typical instances of the changes so occurring. The influence on Nabaloi of the language of Pangasinan, from which province the main body of the Ibaloi Igorot is separated nowadays by the little-inhabited mountain complex of the Mangitkiran Peak (Monte de Santo Tomás), seems to have taken place in a former period of probably closer proximity of the Ibaloi Igorot and the people of Pangasinan.[2]

The Ilocano language, on the other hand, appears still to continue feeding and modifying the Nabaloi; the Nabaloi dialect, in fact, is used

[1] Mr. Scheerer had not seen Volume I of the publications of the Survey when this was written. Volume I, The Bontoc Igorot, by Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, contains exhaustive vocabularies of a people north of Benguet.

[2] See on this point Historia de Ilocos, by Isabelo de los Reyes, pt. II, pp. 169–171. (Account of a Spanish expedition against the Igorot.)

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only within the tribe. In conversation with outsiders and on official occasions Ilocano is spoken, of which nearly all Benguet Igorot have a colloquial knowledge.

DIFFICULTY IN REDUCING THE DIALECT TO WRITING

Nabaloi, never before reduced to writing, presents to the student certain difficulties inasmuch as the pronunciation is often varying, hard to catch, and puzzling to fix by letter. These Igorot are moreover very careless speakers; the Nabaloi equivalent for "no," for instance, will be heard most often as *chi* or *nchi*, sometimes as *aishi*, but hardly ever in its true form *anchi*, which is the Pangasinan andi, same as Tagalog hindi.

Different valley communities have different terms for one and the same thing, and even within one rancheria or settlement inquiry for the name of a certain thing will often raise a controversy about the proper word. I point this out not in order to enhance but rather to limit the value of the vocabulary given herewith, in which doubtless there may be found many errors. I pretend to have cut only a narrow trail through the jungle of this hitherto unexplored territory, but by the light thus let in further investigation will be made easier and more satisfactory.

THE NABALOI ALPHABET[1]

[Abbreviations: N., Nabaloi; I., Ilocano; P., Pangasinan; T., Tagalog; Sp., Spanish; Corr. Sp., corrupted from Spanish.]

PRONUNCIATION

Taking for a standard the Spanish alphabet, I begin with some remarks on the pronunciation, comparing at the same time the Nabaloi sounds and words with their equivalents in the neighboring dialects.

A

This vowel occurs—

(1) Pure in *ama*, father; *alam-am*, a certain fern.

(2) Corrupted into *e* or even *i* by hurried pronunciation in *Bana'ngan*, name of a locality; *asa'k*, to plant;[2] *pita'k*, mire.

(3) Obscured and scarcely audible in *ba'dat*, skin; *a'nohi*, no, is not; *a'mbulat*, heavy, and others.

B

(1) Pure in *belbel*, pine tree; *bidin*, command.

(2) With a short exploded *u* after it before *a*; *baka*, cow; *baknang*, rich man, headman; *matabá*, fat.

(3) Passing into *f* as heard in the northern Ibaloi ranccherias; *fúdai* for *búdai*, land, soil, earth, country; *falei* for *balei*, house. (See also under F.)

[1] Except where used to give prominence to letters in the alphabet, the use of italics throughout the text is confined to words of the Nabaloi dialect.

[2] In this, as in other cases later on, I render the Nabaloi root word indicative of an action by the English infinitive.

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C

The Spanish linguo-dental *c* does not occur in Nabaloi. (For guttural *c* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, see under K.)

Ch

The existence in Nabaloi of this consonantal diphthong has served to strengthen Spanish authors in their opinion regarding the Chinese descent of the Igorot. A comparison with other native dialects shows this sound to be most often an idiomatic substitute for the *d* of the lowlanders, as already stated by Sinibaldo de Mas. It likewise replaces *l* or *r:*

Chalan	road	I. dalan	*Machim*	afternoon	I. malém
Achálem	deep	I. adálem	*Chius*	God	Sp. Dios
Chila	tongue	I. dila	*Bilchi*	green	Sp. verde
Chua	two	I. dua	*Sampidáncho*	a town	Sp. San Fernando

(For *ch* instead of *r* see under R.)

D

Notwithstanding the substitution of *ch* for *d*, as illustrated in the preceding examples, there are found many words that retain the *d: Adirum*, shadow, ghost; *duungan*,[1] the space under the house; *angkádias*, light of weight; *andáyot*, hard; *andúfit*, soft; *dennet*, designation for a phase of the moon.

D in Nabaloi stands very often also, though not always, for *l* in Ilocano, Pangasinan, etc.: *Mabadin*, possible, to be able; I., mabalin; *Idoko*, I., Iloko; *dúpa*, face; P., lupâ; *Manida*, T., Manila; *chukúdan*, bedstead; P., dukûlan.

The Ibalois further pronounce a *d* nearly always before the sound *y: Adyab*, to call; I., ayab; *dyo*, your; I., yo; *kabadyo*, horse; Sp., caballo. (See also under T.)

E

(1) The characteristic *e* in the Philippine dialects, fluctuating between *e* and *i: Akes*, belly; *guanet*, rope; *ngeras*, lazy. (See also under I.)

(2) Very open and broad, like the German *ä* in *exduk*, egg; *kerul*, thunder; *teul*, fool.

(3) Like the nasal *u* in English "lull," but a little nearer to the Spanish *e;* I render it by *œ: Ulœs*, shawl; *angœl*, body; *maptœng*, good; *abutœng*, drunk. The name of the Province of Benguet is pronounced by the natives Béng-ngœt.[2]

F

Its use appears to be rather unsettled. While constant in some words—as, for example, *andúfit*, soft; *udúfen*, to accompany somebody, but *manúdup*, to go together—in others it is heard indifferently as *f* or *p*—for example, *apil* or *afil*, different; *Kupit* or *Kufit*, a female name.[3] As a consequence of this tendency to interchange *p* and *f* the Ibalois share with other Philippine peoples the inclination to substitute *p* for the *f* in Spanish words. They say *Sampidáncho* for San Fernando, *piríno* for freno (bridle), etc. (See also under B and P.)

[1] *Duungan* (doongan), in antiquated Tagalog, a landing place for boats. It may be inferred herefrom that the Ibalois once lived and built their houses, in true Malay fashion, on the shores of navigable waters.

[2] *Béng-ngœt* (in Ilokano, entanglement), the act of somebody or some thing being caught in a thicket or a tight place.

[3] Igorot rice wine is called "tapui" by the Ilocano, but "tafei" by the Igorot.

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G

Always hard: *Pagei*, P., palai, paddy; *madigat*, difficult; *apag*, flesh, meat. A hard *g* also appears in Nabaloi before the diphthong *oa* or *ua* of the lowlanders, the *wa* of the modern Filipino orthography, thus: *Asagoa*, spouse, consort; T., asawa; *guanet*, rope: I., uanet; *gualo*, eight; T., walo; *guara*, there is; P., oala; in T., wala, there is not.[1]

ng

This nasal occurs in Nabaloi the same as in all other Filipino dialects: *Ngeras*, lazy; *angalutoi*, slippery; *tungan*, to sit down; I., tugau.

H

This aspirate does not occur. For comparison I give some Tagalog words containing this letter and their Nabaloi equivalents:

Hangin (wind), *chagem;* kahoi (wood), *kiu;* buhoc (hair), *buek.*

I

I calls for no other remark than the general one applying to all Filipino dialects, that it is often not to be distinguished from *e*. A distinct *i* is heard in some words—as, for example, in *bidin*, command; *Pias*, name of a rancheria; *tag-in*, cold; *chiai*, here. An ambiguous *i* appears in *uling*, charcoal; *Bagio*, capital of Benguet; *Piko*, a rancheria; *palit*, dear, where the *i* might also be pronounced as a short, sharp *e*. (See also under E.)

J

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. The name Juan is pronounced Kuan.

K

The common *k* is found in words like *toktok*, head; *kechil*, pig; *kame*, we; *kiu*, wood; *Kolkol*, a personal name. In other words it is pronounced like *ch* in Scottish loch, a sound for which I employ the letter *x: Ixamen*, mat; I., ikamen; *exduk*, egg; I., itlog; T., iklog; *achaxel*, much, many; I., dakkél, great, large; *asixen*, old man; P., asiken; *puxau*, hawk.

L

Pronounced as in Spanish; *Malinas*, clear; *malukon*, pregnant; *chala*, blood; *chíla*, tongue; *antóleng*, black. (See also under D and R.)

LL

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. In pronouncing Spanish words containing it the Ibaloi convert it into *dy:* Sp., silla, *sildya.*

M, N

Pronounced in the ordinary way.

Ñ

This Spanish letter does not occur.

O

Sometimes a pure *o*, as in *andayot*, hard; *toktok*, head; *ootik*, small, etc. In other words it passes into *u*—for example, *Bagio*, capital of Benguet; *antoleng*, black; *aso*, dog.[2]

---

[1] It may be noted that the same difference in spelling is found in the old Spanish authors; Gaspar de San Agustin writes Limasagua for Limasaoa and Tanaguan for Tanauan. In Morga we find timagua for timawa, but Vava for Guagua in Mas.

[2] It should be noticed that *x* is used to indicate the third sound given under E.

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P

While invariable in some cases, as in *palit*, dear; *páltog*, gun; *pisus*, Sp., peso: in others it passes into *f*, as shown under that letter.

Q

This letter is not used in writing Nabaloi.

R

Pronounced with the tongue and rather softly: *Era*, they; *marikit*, pretty. Note also the following letter changes: *Chala*, blood; I., dara; *díros*, clock, watch; Sp., reloj; *chinggol*, quarrel; I., ringgor; *gícha*, war; Sp., guerra; *uling*, charcoal; P., uring; *kuldyo*, mail; Sp., correo; *Alingay*, a town; I., Aringay; *diraldyo*, newspaper; Sp., diario. (See also under L and Ch.)

S

Sharp in *kosipos*, to roll up; *asas*, to see; *chaschasan*, peel, etc. Soft in *sudat*, to write; *siged*, well, right, and others.

T

Pronounced as ordinarily, though it is often not readily distinguished from *d* by an European ear.

U

Short in *nutnut*, to talk; *kadut*, to tie, etc.; long in *bunu*, to kill; *unas*, sugar cane, etc.

V, W, X, Y, Z

For *w* and *y* see under G and D, respectively. The other sounds do not occur, excepting perhaps *v*, which approaches the soft Nabaloi *b*, and *x*, which is used to represent the second sound given under K.

DIPHTHONGS

eu

A broad *e* joined to a short *u*: *Badću*, song; *Alću-ću*, a personal name, etc.

ei

Sounds like the diphthong in English they, and takes the place of the Ilokano *ai*: *Atei*, dead; *altei*, liver; *balei*, house; *pagei*, paddy.

ou

A long hollow *u*. This sound corresponds to the *ao* in lowland dialects: *Akou*, sun, day; T., arao; *payou*, rice field; *irou*, a big snake; *Palou*, name of a locality; *tapou*, top of mountain; I., tapao.

au

Like *ow* in English cow: *Puxau*, hawk; *talau*, star; *kalau*, a bird.

oi

Like the diphthong in English coy: *Angalutoi*, slippery; *Nabaloi*, name of this dialect, etc.

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HIATUS; TRANSPOSITION OF VOWELS

There are in Nabaloi, as in Ilocano, certain words the correct pronunciation of which requires a distinct hiatus to be interposed between two syllables. Of this kind are: *Tag-in*, cold; *Pináu-an*, *Aléu-éu*, *Kam-ol*, three personal names; *bulbul-ó*, butterfly; *alam-am*, a fern; *un-an*, to go to see.

The hiatus in question is like the one we make in English in such a word as tick-tack.

It may be remarked finally that there are to be found in Nabaloi examples of that curious transposition of vowels within one word that is met with also in Ilocano and other native dialects. By a change of this kind the word *ambúlinget*, dark, for instance, will be heard as *ambúlunget*, and others similarly. A certain author has seen in this capriciousness in speaking one of the causes of the great variety of Philippine dialects.

SIGNS EMPLOYED

The two sounds fluctuating—the one between *e* and *i* and the other between *o* and *u*, for each of which the old Philippine alphabets had only one character—I shall not distinguish by special signs but write words containing them as I have heard them.[1]

I discard further the distinction in writing between the first and second sounds under A, between the three kinds of C, and between the first and second sounds under E, because, being influenced by the neighboring dialects, they become more or less distinct according to the geographical position of each rancheria. The examples given may suffice to illustrate them.

Lastly, the difference between sharp and soft *s* and long and short *u* is not so excessive as to render diacritical marks necessary.

There remain only three special sounds to be considered: First, that which the Spaniards, finding it in all dialects of these Islands, rendered by *ñg*, *ñg̃*, or *ng*. Leaving aside the much-debated question how it can be represented properly for popular, practical use, I retain in this study the simplest Spanish form of writing the sound *ng*.[2] The two other sounds

[1] Rizal repudiates for Tagalog orthography the use of the *e* altogether, which he says was introduced by foreign writers. He admits only the *i* with two values—*i* in the middle of a word (Spanish *i*) and *i* in a final syllable a little more open, like *y* in English "carry," "fluently"—that is, a sound between *e* and *i*. Of *u* he similarly says that in the middle of a word it sounds like the Spanish *u*, but that it opens a little and takes an intermediate sound between *o* and *u* in final syllables, a fact which, as in the case of *e* and *i*, leads some to believe that the Filipinos employed *o* and *u* indifferently. Words with two *o*'s of the intermediate sound, as tutoo, poon, etc., he pronounces to contain really only a long final *u*. He admits therefore the letter *o* only for final syllables, giving it the value of *ou*—that is, darker than the Italian *o*.

[2] In passing I will only point out that the sign *ñ* avoids the drawback which led Rizal to admit reluctantly the old Spanish *ñg* instead of the *g̃* proposed by him, viz, it does not destroy the character of the assimilated particle *na* in contractions like *Hariñ bata* for *Hari na bata*.

[The author proposed to adopt the character *ñ* in place of *ng*, but, in view of the fact that there is not general agreement as to the wisdom of this course and also because the character *ng* is well understood, it has seemed best for the present to represent the sound by *ng*.—ED.]

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are the ones described under E^3 and the palatal fricative mentioned under K. As both are constantly used and clearly heard they merit distinctive signs, and I give them, the first with *œ* and the second with *x* (Association Phonétique Internationale).

ROOTS AND PARTICLES

Nabaloi, like all Philippine dialects, is agglutinative, built up of roots and particles.

By roots I mean here simply the words that convey a certain definite and independent idea—for example, *apui*, fire; *ootik*, little; *bunu*, to kill; *chua*, two. Particles I call here certain syllables which, taken by themselves, have no meaning whatever and therefore never occur singly in the sentence and which become significative only when agglutinated to roots or compound words the meaning of which they modify in a variety of ways. Agglutinative particles are either prefixed or infixed or suffixed. Some examples will illustrate their use:

Prefix *maka*, meaningless if by itself, has the office of adding the idea "owner" to the sense embodied in the stem. Taking, for instance, the word *balei*, house, we get *makabalei*, owner of house; *makakabadyo*, owner of horse, and so on.

Infix *in* serves to make the past tense of verbal forms. Stem: *Tag-in*, cold; *antag-in*, to become cold; *t-im-ag-in*, to have become cold. In this case the *n* of infix *in* becomes *m* for reasons of idiomatic pronunciation.

Suffix *an* denotes locality. Root: *Apui*, fire; *apuian*, fireplace.

The number of particles a stem may take is not limited to one. For instance:

Root, *Puetang*, WARMTH, HEAT

+ Prefix *ka* and suffix *an*[1]	*ka-p(ue)tang-an*	Hot territory.
+ Prefix *i*	*I-ka-p'tang-an*	A person having his home in the hot territory.

By certain particles a verbal force is given to nouns. For example, to the compound word *apuian*, fireplace, the idea of "to use as" is superadded by the prefix *pan*.

Thus—

Saidiai	*e*	*panapuian*	*mo*
(Lit.: This here	the	use as fireplace	thine)

Would mean:

Let this be your fireplace; (or, briefly) make your fire here.

The same sentence is rendered as a statement in the past tense by infixing into *panapuian* the particle *in:*

[1] *Ka . . . an* denote, among other things, the whole extent in which the idea expressed by the root prevails. The above is an instance of this idea in concrete sense; for abstract ideas compare T., layâ, free; *ka-laya-án*, freedom.

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Saidiai e pinanapuian mo
(Lit.: This here the used as fireplace thine)

This is the place that served you to make fire; (or) you made your fire here.

The notable point in this form is that it expresses both a thing and an action, and that with this duality in sense accords its grammatical appearance. It is preceded by the article like a noun and it can be modified as to time like a verb. We can not then bring it justly under either of these grammatical categories of ours, and the less we try to do so the sooner we enter into the spirit of these idioms.[1] (Compare "The verb," p. 126.)

THE ARTICLE

DEFINITE

The definite article, used for singular and plural and for both genders, is *e*, also pronounced *i* (Spanish pronunciation).

The declension of a noun with the definite article in English would appear in Nabaloi as follows:[2]

Nominative case: *e daxi*, the man; *e balei*, the house.
Possessive case: *ne daxi*, of the man; *ne balei*, of the house.
Objective case: { *sun daxi*, to the man;[3] *chi balei*, to the house.[3]
{ *e daxi*, the man; *e balei*, the house.

In speaking of persons the special article *si* is used with their personal names and also with words which express kinship, as *ama*, father; *ina*, mother; *agi*, brother, sister. It is likewise used with the pronouns *iai*, this, and *iman*, that, if they refer to persons.

The different cases are shown in the following example:

Nominative case: *si Mateo.*
Possessive case: *nan Mateo* or *ne Mateo.*
Objective case: *sun* or *sikan Mateo; si Mateo.*

Si, if following a vowel, is generally abbreviated to *s'* and pronounced as a suffix to the word preceding it. (See examples.)

INDEFINITE

The indefinite article is *saxei*, one, joined to the noun by the particle *a*. It forms the following cases:

Nominative case: *saxei a anak*, a child.
Possessive case: *ne saxei a anak*, of a child.
Objective case: { *sun saxei a anak*, to a child.
{ *saxei a anak*, a child.

---

[1] It may not be superfluous to point out here that although I take our grammatical categories as a ground plan for these notes and continually use terms taken from our grammar I use them because they are familiar and not because grammatical terms used in a European language fit exactly a Malayan dialect like Nabaloi.

[2] The word "declension" is used here merely as a matter of convenience. Strictly speaking, a word which does not change in form to make the different cases is not declined.

[3] The dative particle *sun* is used only for living beings. With inanimate things this case generally bears upon relations as to space and is expressed by prepositions like *chi* and others.

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Examples

Akotai e daxi.[1]	The man is bad.
Akayang e kiu.	The tree is high.
Baknang si Mateo.	Mateo is a headman (or rich man).
Si Mateo e baknang.	Mateo is the headman.
Abadeg e balei ni Kastil.	The house of the Spaniard is big.
Achaxœl e anak nan Kuan.	Many are the children of Juan.
Anaxan-ko e puxil sun aso.	I have given the bone to the dog.
Inaspol-ko's capitan.	I have met the capitan (headman).
Guara's amam?	Is your father present?
Chulong chi balei nan Mateo iai.	These boards belong to the house of Mateo.
Balei nan Mateo.	The house of Mateo.
Balei-Mateo.	Mateo's house.
Mapteng si iai.	This (person) is good.
Saidiai e balei ne saxei a abiteg.	This is a house of a poor man.
Iaxan-mo e sudat sun saxei a igudut.	Give the letter to an Igorot.
Insas-ko e bii.	I have seen the woman (women).
Guara insas-ko'n bii.	I have seen women.
Guara insas-ko chua'n bii.	I have seen two women.
Insas-ko achum a bii.	I have seen some women.
Achaxel e bii'n insas-ko.	Many were the women I saw.

The emphasis obtained for "many" in the last sentence by putting *achaxel* at the beginning and the definite article immediately after is an idiomatic construction often to be rendered by such relative phrases of ours as "it is he who," etc. For instance:

Sikak e kinilbig-to.	It is I who was struck by him.
Saidiai e cha kapan sungura.	This is the direction they are taking.
Sikam e angala ne kabadyo.	It is you who have been the bringer of the horse.

THE NOUN

The Nabaloi noun has no distinctive forms to denote number or gender.

The plural, if not left to be understood from the context, is expressed by such words as *amin*, all; *achum*, some; *achaxel*, many, etc. There are, however, in use some nouns, mostly belonging to the Ilocano dialect, that form a plural by reduplication of the first syllable plus the following consonant; for example: *Balei*, house; *bal-balei*, houses; *ili*, town; *il-ili*, towns; *bilin*, command, order; *bil-bilin*, commands, orders.

To express the gender in the case of animals the words *daxi*, man,

[1] Lit.: "Bad the man." It is well to point out here that Nabaloi entirely lacks the auxiliary verb "to be," and that the idea of it is embodied in the noun (substantive, pronoun, adjective). Instances of this, besides above examples, will occur continually in these notes. (See under "The adjective.")

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and *bii*, woman, or *kadakian* and *kabadyan* are made use of—*e asu'n daxi*, the dog; *e asu'n bii*, the bitch. Horse and mare are *kabadyo* and *kabadyan;*[1] the bull and the cow of the carabao, *nuang a kadakian* and *nuang a kabadyan*.

In a few cases distinct words are used for the male and female animals, as: Male dog, *asu;* female dog, *tina;* male cat, *pusa;* female cat, *tina;* male deer, *mak-bet;* female deer, *ku-bí-lan*.

USE OF FEW, MANY, ALL, SOME, NO, ANOTHER

The following examples show the uses of the forms few, many, all, some, no, another, right, left, both, and are given here because a part of them show how the plural idea is expressed:

Saxei a tóo	One man	*Apil a asu*	Another dog
Chua'n tóo	Two men	*Saxei a pana*	One arrow
Taddo tóo	Three men	*Chua'n pana*	Two arrows
Acháxœl a tóo	Many men	*Taddo pana*	Three arrows
Amin a tóo	All the men	*Ootik a pana*	Few arrows
Achum a tóo	Some men	*Acháxœl a pana*	Many arrows
Anchí tóo	No man	*Amin a pana*	All the arrows
Apil a tóo	Another man	*Achum a pana*	Some arrows
Saxei a bii	One woman	*Anchí pana*	No arrow
Chua'n bii	Two women	*Apil a pana*	Another arrow
Taddo bii	Three women	*Saxei a sambilacho*	One hat
Ootik a bii	Few women	*Chua'n sambilacho*	Two hats
Acháxœl a bii	Many women	*Taddo sambilacho*	Three hats
Amin a bii	All the women	*Ootik a sambilacho*	Few hats
Achum a bii	Some women	*Acháxœl a sambilacho*	Many hats
Anchí bii	No woman		
Apil a bii	Another woman	*Amin a sambilacho*	All the hats
Saxei a aának	One boy	*Achum a sambilacho*	Some hats
Chua'n aának	Two boys	*Anchí sambilacho*	No hat
Taddo aának	Three boys	*Apil a sambilacho*	Another hat
Ootik a aának	Few boys	*Saxei a bulong*	One leaf
Acháxœl a aának	Many boys	*Chua'n bulong*	Two leaves
Amin a aának	All the boys	*Taddo bulong*	Three leaves
Achum a aának	Some boys	*Ootik a bulong*	Few leaves
Anchí aának	No boy	*Acháxœl a bulong*	Many leaves
Apil a aának	Another boy	*Amin a bulong*	All the leaves
Saxei a asu	One dog	*Saxei a bato*	One stone
Chua'n asu	Two dogs	*Chua'n bato*	Two stones
Taddo asu	Three dogs	*Taddo bato*	Three stones
Acháxœl a asu	Many dogs	*Ootik a bato*	Few stones
Amin a asu	All the dogs	*Acháxœl a bato*	Many stones
Achum a asu	Some dogs	*Amin a bato*	All the stones
Anchí a asu	No dog		

[1] The similarity in sound of these two words is accidental. *Kabadyo* is the Spanish "caballo;" *Kabadyan*, on the contrary, is composed of the two particles *ka* and *an* and of what is left as a root *bai*; Ilocano, babai, woman. This corresponds with the composition of *kadakian*, root *daxi*, man; T., lalaki.

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USE OF RIGHT, LEFT, BOTH

Mata anánan	Right eye	*Dima anánan*	Right hand
Mata anídi / *Mata igit*	Left eye	*Dima anídi* / *Dima igit*	Left hand
Suta chua'n mata	Both eyes	*Suta chua'n dima*	Both hands
Tangída anánan	Right ear	*Sadi anánan*	Right foot
Tangída anídi / *Tangída igit*	Left ear	*Sadi anídi* / *Sadi igit*	Left foot
Suta chua'n tangída	Both ears	*Suta chua'n sadi*	Both feet

RELATION OF NABALOI TO OTHER PHILIPPINE DIALECTS

Besides what may be gathered from the examples given under "Pronunciation," I propose to show here by a number of common words, denoting parts of the human body, the affinity of Nabaloi to other Philippine dialects:

English	Nabaloi	Ilokano	Pangasinan	Pampango	Tagalog
Body	angœl	bagé	laman	katawan	katawan
Head	toktok	uló	oló	buntuk	úlo
Hair	buek	book	buek	buok	buhók
Eye	mata	mata	mata	mata	mata
Mouth	bungot	ngioat	sangi	asbuk	bibig
Tongue	chíla	díla	. . .	díla	díla
Ear	tangída	talinga	layag	balugbug	tainga
Breast	pageu	barukong	pagéo	salu	dibdib
Shoulder	abada	abaga	abala	pagó	balikat
Neck	bukdou	buklao (glutton)	bekleo	batal	liig
Arm	takdai	takiag	taklai	takdí	kamai
Hand	dima	ima	lima	gamat	kamai
Anus	ubet	ubet	. . .	buldit	puit
Heart	puso	puso	póso	pusu	puso
Face	dupa	rupa	lúpa	lupa	mukha
Belly	akes	tian	eges	atian	tian
Leg	ulpo	luppu	ulpo	puad	hita
Foot	sadi	saka	sali	bitis	paá
Bone	puxil	tulang	pukel	butul	butó
Skin	badat	. . .	baug	balat	balat
Blood	chala	dala	dala	daya	dugo
Brain	utek	otek	utek	utak	utak
Liver	altei	dalem	altei	atai	até
Flesh	apag / daman	lasag	. . .	laman	laman

I further give a number of Nabaloi words seemingly closely related to Malay proper and particularly interesting because they illustrate the coincidence of Nabaloi *ch* with Malay *dj:*

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English	Nabaloi	Malay	English	Nabaloi	Malay
To kill	bunu	bunoh	Sharp	matachim	teidham (pointed)
Creek	singi	sungei	Rain	uchan (uran)	hudjan
Girkin	kasiman	katiman	To sew	manait	djaib
To show	ituchu	tundjuk	Far	achaul / aragui	djau
Weep	anangis	nangis			
Road	chalan	djalan	Needle	chakem	djaran
Heavy	ambulat	brat			

THE ADJECTIVE

The adjective exists, like the noun, either as a simple root word or as a root with a prefix agglutinated. The adjective, if used predicatively, precedes the noun and includes in itself the idea of "to be." A distinct verbal character is given to it by certain particles which add to it the meaning "to become." Of this form a progressive and a past tense exist.

Examples

E balei ootik.	The small house.
Ootik e balei.	The house is small.
E balei dya ootik.	The house which is small.
Anootik e chanum.	The water becomes (or will become) little.
Amanootik e chanum.	The water is becoming little.
Imootik e chanum.	The water has become little.
Ootik da e chanum.	The water is already little.

MODIFICATIONS OF THE ADJECTIVE

The following is a list of a number of current adjectives showing the various prefixes and forms just mentioned:

Adjectives	To be	Going to become	To be becoming	To have become
Straight	dinteg	anditeg	amanditeg	dimiteg
Lazy	ngeras	angngéras	amangngéras	ngimiras
Cold	tag-in	antag-in	amantag-in	timag-in
Black	antoleng	matoleng	amantoleng	timoleng
Short	antixei	matixei	amantixei	timixei
Soft	andufit	madufit	amandufit	dimufit
Light (of weight)	angkadias	makadias	amangkadias	kimadias
Slippery	angalutoi	mangalutoi	amangalutoi	ngimulutoi
Bashful	angbabaing	mabaing	amanbabaing	bimaeng
White	amputi	maputi	amanputi	pimuti
Wet	ambasa	mabasa	amabasa	abasa
Hot	ampetang[1]	mapetang[1]	amanpetang[1]	pimetang
Bad	akotai	makotai	amakotai	kimotai
Crooked	atexong	matexong	amatexong	timexong
Alive	abiag	mabiag	amabiag	bimiag
Sick with rinderpest	apeste	mapeste	. . . .	pineste
Turbid	akilot	makilot	amangkilot	kimilot
Strong	maxatsang	angkatsang	amangkatsang	kimetsang
Dry	mag-an	mamag-an	amamag-an	amagan
Fat	mataba	antaba	amantaba	timaba
Good	maptœng	ampetœng	amanpetœng	pimetœng

[1] The *e* is scarcely audible—*amp'tang*, etc. (P., puetang, heat).

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Adjectives are given a negative sense with the help of the particle *ag*. For example: *Ag-an-tárem*, not sharp, blunt; *ag-adúum*, not ripe, unripe, etc.

An adjective is intensified in meaning by the use of the expression *na chile* or *nga chile*, thus: *Ampetang*, warm; *ampetang na chile*, very warm.

Comparison is expressed as follows: *Chi amin á balei*, of all the houses; *saidiai e ampetang* or *saidiai e ampetang na chile*, this is the warm one (or the warmest).

THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE

Examples

Bado iai a balei.	This house is new.
Sadiai e badong balei.	This here is the new house.
Itúchom saxei a bado a balei.	Show me a new house.
Twai kaanan ne badong balei?	Where is the site of the new house?
Chinan e badong balei?	Which is the new house?
Sepai e makabalei niai?[1]	Who is the owner of this house?
Bado da iai a balei; niman achaan.	This house was new; now it is old.
Adufok iman a balei.	That house is rotten.
Dimufok iman a balei.	That house has become rotten.
Naka aman dagá ne saxei a balei.	I am building a house.
Guara anan era ne saxei a balei abadeg tan saxei a ootik.	They have a large house and a small one.
Anchi balei-to.	He has no house.
Anchi balei-to?	Has he no house?
Anchi.	He has none.
Guara.	He has.
Anchi abadeg a balei. *Anchi saxei a balei abadeg.*	There is no big house.
Aligoang abadeg e balei.	The house is not big.
Guara balei-to.	Has he a house?
Guara'd balei-to?	Is he in his house?
Guara era'd balei-to?	Are they in his house?
Guara's aman chi balei-to?	Is your father in his house?
Guara.	He is.
Anchi.	He is not.
Guara anan balei-mo abadeg?	Have you a big house?
Pian ko tumkalen suta balei dya ootik.	I wish to buy that small house (that house which is small).
Atoleng e kabadyok.	My horse is black.
Amputí e kabadyo-to.	His horse is white.
Abateg e taad-ko.	My knife is large.
Oótik e taad-to.	His knife is small.
Matáchim e taad-to.	His knife is sharp.
Taad-to ni Kuan ag-antárem.	John's knife is dull (Lit.: Knife his of John is dull).
Achán e abong-me.	Our hut is old.

[1] *Niai* (*ne iai*), genitive of *iai*, this.

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Bado e balei-mo.	Your house is new.
Oótik e balei-cha.	Their houses are small.
Abateg e balei-cha.	Their houses are large.
Ináktelak.	I am cold.
Inaktel-ka nuntan.	You were cold.
Sikáto maktél asanêm.	He will be cold.
Ampetáng-ak.	I am warm.
Ampetáng-ka nuntan.	You were warm.
Sikáto ampetáng asanem.	He will be warm.
Akayáng-ak.	I am tall.
Akayáng-ka nuntan.	You were tall.
E aanak makayáng ammo (seemingly).	The boy will be tall.
Akayáng e kíou.	The tree is tall.
Akayáng e kabadyo.	The horse is high.
Akayáng e balei.	The house is high.
Akayáng e bato.	The rock is high.
Malagua e balei.	The house is large.
Oótik e balei.	The house is small.
Ambánao e kadúbong.	The hat is large.
Akayáng é tíid (the steep).	The hill is high.
Antixe e tíid.	The hill is low.
Akayáng e chuntuk.	The mountain is high.
Oótik e chuntuk.	The mountain is low.

THE PRONOUN

PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE

Genders are not distinguished by different forms. The personal pronoun appears in two forms:

INDEPENDENT FORMS

(1) The independent forms, which can be used by themselves alone to designate the corresponding persons:

Form	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	sikak	sikam	sikáto
Plural	sikame (exclusive) sikatayo (inclusive)	sikayo	sikara[1] si era

[1] P., sikara.

The difference between *sikame* and *sikatayo* consists in that the latter includes besides the speaker and his party the party addressed, while the former excludes the party addressed. Accordingly *sikame* will be heard, for instance, in a respectful report to a superior; *sikatayo*, on the contrary, in familiar talk among equals. The same propriety in speaking is found in Ilocano, Tagalog, etc., but is especially noteworthy among Igorot who otherwise address everybody, high or low, with *sikam* (thou), after the fashion of the Tyrolese mountaineers.

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These pronouns form the genitive with *nan* and the dative with *sun*. Thus: *Nan sikam, sun sikáto*, etc.; *si era*, however, drops the *si* in these cases: *Nan era, sun era*. From the following examples it will be seen that the pronoun carries with it, like the noun and the adjective, the meaning of "to be:".

Examples

Sikak e makaamta.	I am the one who takes care (of the thing spoken about).
Sepai e angidai niai?	Who brought this?
Sikame.	We (did).
Insasko sun sikáto.	I have seen him.
Ubing ko si era.	They are my servants.
Sepai sikam?	Who are you?

FORMS USED ONLY IN COMPOSITION

(2) The forms used only joined to other words, the monosyllabic pronouns thus becoming all but affixes:

Form	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular	ak[1]	ka	to
Plural	kame (exclusive) tayo (inclusive)	kayo	era

[1] Sometimes also *nak* or *na*, apparently for euphonic reasons.

The pronouns given in this table can, in the first place, be used, with the exception of *to*, in the way shown by the following examples:

Igudut-ak	I am Igorot.	*Piga kayo?*	How many are you?
Abiteg-ak	I am poor.	*Sampulo kame*	We are ten.
Ambulat-ka	You are heavy.	*Baknang era*	They are rich.

With a verbal form they are used as follows:

Mangan-ak *Nak-mangan*	I eat.[1]	*Mangan kame* *Kame mangan* *Mangan tayo* *Tayo mangan*	We eat.
Mangan-ka *Ka-mangan*	Thou eatest.		
Mangan-to *To-mangan*	He eats.	*Mangan kayo* *Kayo mangan*	You eat.
		Mangan era *Era mangan*	They eat.

POSSESSIVE PARTICLES

The possessive pronoun is represented by the genitive of the last-mentioned forms:

[1] In this instance, as well as everywhere in these notes, I use the English present tense, which colloquially stands also for the future, for what appears to be an equally ambiguous Nabaloi tense.

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PLATE LXXII. IBALOI WOMEN ON RESTING PLATFORM AT DWELLING.

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PLATE LXXIII. IBALOI WOMAN CARRYING BABE.

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PLATE LXXIV. IBALOI RAIN PROTECTOR.

(*A*) Protector hung on head; it is placed horizontally when in use. (*B*) Inside view.

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PLATE LXXV. TATTOO ON ARM OF IBALOI GIRL.

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PLATE LXXVI. IBALOI CARRIERS. WOMAN AND ONE MAN WITH CARRYING FRAME (CHA-GI).

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PLATE LXXVII. IBALOI MAN TURNING SOIL FOR PLANTING.

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PLATE LXXVIII. IBALOI WOMAN WITH CARRYING BASKET (KA-YA-BANG) ON HER BACK; SUPPORTING CORD (A-FID) PASSES OVER CROWN OF HEAD.

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PLATE LXXIX. IBALOI WOMAN TRANSPORTING RICE IN KA-YA-BANG.

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Form	Nominative	Genitive possessive particles
First person singular	ak, nak,[1] na[1]	ko ('k),[2] na,[1] ta[1]
First person plural	kame, tayo	me, tayo
Second person singular	ka	mo ('m)[2]
Second person plural	kayo	dyo
Third person singular	to	to
Third person plural	era[3]	cha,[4] ra

[1] Used with verbal forms only. [2] Used as suffix to nouns ending in *a*, *i*, *o*, or *u*.
[3] P., ira. [4] I. and P., da.

The application of these possessive particles will be seen from the following examples:

(*a*) With noun substantive terminating in *a*, *i*, *o*, or *u*—

Ama-k	My father	*Ina-m*	Thy mother
Baro-k	My shirt	*Sudi-m*	Thy foot
Asu-k	My dog	*Apo-m*	Thy grandfather
Agi-k	My brother	*Sagu-m*	Thy comb

Terminating otherwise—

Bantai-ko	My guard	*Chalan-me*	Our road (s)
Bukdou-ko	My neck	*Sudat-me*	Our letter (s)
Tafei-ko	My rice wine	*Balei-me*	Our house (s)
Budai-mo	Thy land	*Toktok-dyo*	Your heads
Chifle-mo	Thy rifle	*Sangkap-dyo*	Your hand spades
Suan-mo	Thy stick	*Kóbal-dyo*	Your loincloths
Bidin-to	His order	*Kabadyo-cha*	Their horse (s)
Katap-to	His cloak	*Kabadyo-ra*	Their horse (s)
Guanet-to	His rope	*Paltog-cha*	Their guns

Possessive	My hands	My feet
My	dimak; or, more idiomatic, saidiai chua'n (these two hands of mine)	sadik; or, more idiomatic, saidiai chua'n sadik
Your (singular)	dimam; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n diman (those two hands of yours)	sadim, or suta chua'n sadim
His (or her)	dima-to; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n dima-to	sadi-to, or suta chua'n sadi-to
Our (your and my)	dima tayo	sadi táyo
Our (his and my)	dima-me	sadi-me
Our (your, plural, and my)	dima tayo	sadi táyo
Our (their and my)	dima-me	sadi-me
Your (dual)	dima-dyo chua	sadi-dyo chua
Their (dual)	dima-cha'n chua	sadi-cha'n chua
Your (plural)	dima-dyo	sadi-dyo
Their (plural)	dima-cha	sadi-cha

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Possessive	My horse	My dog	My ox
My	kabadyok	asuk	bakak a kafon[1]
Your (singular)	kabadyom	asum	bakam a kafon
His (or her)	kabadyo-to	asu-to	baka-to a kafon
Our (your and my)	kabadyo-tayo	asu-tayo	baka tayo a kafon
Our (his and my)	kabadyo-me	asu-me	baka-me a kafon
Our (your, plural, and my)	kabadyo-tayo	asu-tayo	baka tayo a kafon
Our (their and my)	kabadyo-me	asu-me	baka-me a kafon
Your (dual)	kabadyo-dyo'n chua	asu-dyo'n chua	baka-dyo'n chua a kafon
Their (dual)	kabadyo cha'n chua	asu-cha'n chua	baka-cha'n chua a kafon
Your (plural)	kabadyo-dyo	asu-dyo	baka-dyo a kafon
Their (plural)	kabadyo-cha	asu-cha	baka-cha a kafon

[1] Corr. Sp., capon.

Our grandfather's house: *Balei ne ápo-me* or *balei nan ápo-me* or *balei ápo-me.*

(*b*) With verbal forms (verbal forms have the nature of nouns; see under "Roots and particles," also under "The verb")—

Pian-ko	I like (want, wish).	*Pian-me*	We like.
Pian-mo	Thou likest.	*Pian-dyo*	You like.
Pian-to	He likes.	*Pian-cha*	They like.
Inguaxat-ko[1] *panak*	I lost my bow.	*Imket-ko sadik*	I cut my foot.
Inguaxat-mo átak-mo	You lost your cleaver (bolo).	*Inket-mo sadim*	You cut your foot.
Inguaxat-to pana-to	He lost his arrow.	*Inket-to sadi-to*	He cuts his foot.

	He stole		*He killed*
My horse	*Kinibot-to*[2] *kabadyok.*	My dog	*Binu-to*[3] *asuk.*
Thy horse	*Kinibot-to kabadyom.*	Thy dog	*Binu-to asum.*
His horse	*Kinibot-to kabadyoto.*	His dog	*Binu-to asu-to.*

	They stole		*They killed*
Our horses	*Kinibot-cha kabadyo-me.*	Our dogs	*Binu-cha asu-me.*
Your horses	*Kinibot-cha kabadyo-dyo.*	Your dogs	*Binu-cha asu-dyo.*
Their horses	*Kinibot-cha kabadyo-ra.*	Their dogs	*Binu-cha asu-cha.*

By altering in any of these sentences the order of the words and adding the article to the verbal form the character of noun latent in the verbal form becomes more manifest:

Pian-ko tafei	I like rice wine.
Tafei e pian-ko	Rice wine is my desire.
Sadik e inket-ko	My foot is the part I cut (not my hand).
Asuk e binu-to tan kabadyok e kinibot-to	My dog was the object of his killing and my horse the object of his stealing.

The pronoun may also precede the verbal form. This is heard especially in short sentences like—

Mo-alu!	Bring! (imp.)	*Me-insas*	We have seen.
Ka-asas!	Look!	*Dyo-ibaag*	Ask! (plur. imp.)
To-inda	He has taken (it).	*Cha-bunuin*	They are going to kill.

[1] From *iguaxat*, to lose. [2] From *kibotin*, to steal. [3] From *bunuin*, to kill.

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Note also place of pronoun in negative forms:

Ak-ko-pían	I don't like.	*Ak-ak-ámta* *Tagoei, kak-ámta*	I don't know.

DUAL PERSONAL PRONOUN

The personal pronoun *kita* requires special mention. It comprehends the first and second persons, "thou and I," together. It has no independent form like those given at the beginning of this chapter, and it can not be construed with *nan* or *sun*. Its possessive case is the same as the nominative and can not be employed with other nouns than those represented by verbal forms.

Examples

Andaw kita chi Manida.	Thou and I go to Manila.
Abiteg kita.	Thou and I are poor.
Cha kita kapan kalbiga. *Cha kapan kalbiga sun sikatayo.*	They are beating thee and me.
Insas-cha sun sikatayo.	They have seen us.
Balei tayo.	Our house (thine and mine).
Bunuin kita iai a baka.	Thou and I will kill this cow.

For further examples of the use of all personal pronouns with verbal forms see tables under "The verb."

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Number and gender are not distinguished by different forms.

The following is a comparative list of the Nabaloi demonstrative pronouns and those of the Ilocano and Pangasinan languages. I add also for comparison the words for "here," "there," "now," and "before," as the remoteness both in space and in time seems to govern the use of these pronouns, though I can not give precisely the finer shades in the respective meanings of each:[1]

English	Ilocano	Pangasinan	Nabaloi
This	daitoi, itoi	sayan	saidiai (sadiai), iai
That	detai, daita, itai, ita	satan	satan, sutan, itan
That (farther away)	daidiai, idiai	saman	saman, iman
Here	ditoi	dia	chiai, diai, sadiai[1]
There	dita, idiai	ditan	chitan ('d'tan)[1]
There (farther away)	sadiai	diman	chiman ('d'man)[1]
Now	itá	natan	niman
Before	itai koa idi koa	niman	nuntan

[1] See under "Adverbs and adverbial expressions."

The demonstrative pronoun used adjectively precedes the noun and is coupled with it by the particle *a*. Besides *sutan* there exists the form *suta*, which is used without the copula *a* and in the manner of a definite

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article when referring to something of which a previous knowledge is presumed or which has already been mentioned. About the use of *iai* and *iman* with the definite article see under "The article."

Examples

Iai a balei.	This house (these houses).
Balei iai.	This is a house (these are houses).
Saidiai a bato.	This stone here.
Satan a aso.	That dog.
Kiu sutan.	That is wood.
Akotai itan.	That is bad.
Saman a too.	That person.
Iman a sudat.	That letter.
Amputi e aso ni iai[1] *a aanak.*	The dog of this boy is white.
Inaxan ko sun iman a too.	I have given (it) to that man.
Imutok to suta Kastil.	That Spaniard (of whom you know) has arrived.

	This	That	These
Man	iai[1] a too	itan[1] a too	iai[1] a too
Woman	iai a bii	itan a bii	iai a bii
Boy	iai a aanak	itan a aanak	iai a aanak
Dog	iai a asu	itan a asu	iai a asu
Horse	iai a kabadyo	itan a kabadyo	iai a kabadyo
Knife	iai a táad	itan a táad	iai a táad
Axe	iai a guasai	itan a guasai	iai a guasai

	Those	These two	Those two
Man	itan[1] a too	iai[1] a chua'n too	itan[1] a chuan too
Woman	itan a bii	iai a chua'n bii	itan a chuan bii
Boy	itan a aanak	iai a chua'n aanak	itan a chuan aanak
Dog	itan a asu	iai a chua'n asu	itan a chuan asu
Horse	itan a kabadyo	iai[1] a chua'n kabadyo	itan[1] a chuan kabadyo
Knife	itan a táad	iai a chua'n táad	itan a chuan táad
Axe	itan a guasai	iai a chua'n guasai	itan a chuan guasai

[1] Or one of the alternative forms as per table.

TO BE HERE

I am here

Guara-ak chiai (or *diai*)	I
Guara-ka diai	You
Sikam tan sikak guara kita diai	You and I
Sikáto guara diai	He
Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame diai	He and I
Guara kayo'n chua diai	Ye (dual)
Guara era'n chua diai	They (dual)
Guara tayo diai	We (ye and I)
Guara kame diai	We (they and I)
Guara kayo diai	Ye (plural)
Guara era diai	They (plural)

[1] *Ni iai* or *niai.*

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The past tense is expressed by adding at the end of each sentence *nuntan*, meaning "before," and the future by adding *nem asanem* or *asenem*, meaning "later on."

TO BE THERE

I am there

Guara-ak chiman	I
Guara-ka 'd'man	You
Sikam tan sikak guara kita 'd'man	You and I
Sikáto guara 'd'man	He
Sikáto tan sikak guara kame 'd'man	He and I
Guara kayo'n chua 'd'man	Ye (dual)
Guara era'n chua chiman	They (dual)
Guara tayo 'd'man	We (ye and I)
Guara kame 'd'man	We (they and I)
Guara kayo 'd'man	Ye (plural)
Guara era 'd'man	They (plural)

RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun in Nabaloi, representing the English expressions "which is," "which are," and serving for both numbers and all genders, is *dya*. The rendering of other English relative constructions will be gathered from the following idiomatic expressions:

Examples

Suta balei dya ootik.	That house which is small.
E too dya dimaga ntai a balei, atei da.[1]	The man who built this house is dead.
Inamtik e kabadyo dya tinumkal-ko.[2]	The horse which I bought has run away.
Ibaag-mo sun sikak suta ingkuan-to.[3]	Tell me what he said.
Suta kiu dya inasak-ko amanbadeg siged.[4]	The tree that I planted is growing well.
Angken sepai e dimaga baichan-to.[5]	Whoever did it shall pay for it.
Angken ngaramto e basul mo, ikuan-mo.[6]	Whatever your fault, tell it.
Ag-ak-inaxang suta kuan-to.[7]	I do not believe what he says.
Bunúin-ko suta too'n[8] *kinibot kabadyok.*[9]	I will kill the man who stole my horse.
Pangkabadyóan-ko suta anabui nan too.[10]	I will ride the horse that threw the man.

For few, many, all, some, both, no, other, see under "Noun."

[1] Lit.: The person which was-builder of this house, dead already.
[2] Lit.: Has-run-away the horse which was-purchase mine.
[3] Lit.: Information thine to me that-which was-say his.
[4] Lit.: That tree which was-object-of-planting mine is-becoming great well.
[5] Lit.: Even who the was-doer will-be-payment his.
[6] Lit.: Even name-its the fault thine, be-say thine.
[7] Lit.: Not-I-believe that-which is-say his.
[8] The *'n* here affixed to *too* must be a mutilated copula *na;* I., *a;* iti tao á natai, the man who died; T., tawó 'ng makasalanan, a sinful man
[9] Lit.: Object of killing mine that man who stole horse mine.
[10] Lit.: I-am-going-to use-as-horse mine that-which was-thrower of person.

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INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The use of interrogative pronouns and of interrogative adverbs is illustrated in the following examples:

WHO? *Sepa?* or *Sepai?*

Sepa iman (or *sepa'man*)?	Who is that?
Sepai sikam?	Who are you?
Sepa 'man (or *iman*)?	Who is that person?
Sepai diai a dawi?	Who is this man?

WHEN? *Pigan?* or *Kapigan?*

Pigan e idao mo?	When do you go?
Kapigan e imugao cha?	When did they arrive?

HOW MUCH? HOW MANY? *Piga?* or *Pigai?*

Piga imbayad mo?	How much did you pay?

WHERE? *Túa?* or *Twái?*

Twái daguan mo?	Where are you going?

WHAT? *Dyano?* (only as a single interjection)
Ngaramto? (Lit.: Its name.)
Ngaramtoi?
Ngantoi?

Ngaramtoi mo kapan dagá?	What are you doing?

WHICH? *Chinan? Twái? Túa?*

Twái chalan tayo?	Which is our road?
Chinan kabadyom? / *Twái (túa) kabadyom?*	Which is your horse?
Twái paseng niai?	Which is the way to do this? / How is this done?
Twái kabadyo dya tinumkal-mo? / *Chinan e kabadyo'n tinumkal-mo?*	Which horse (or horses) have you bought?

WHY? *Ngaramto? Ngaramtoi?*

Ngaramtoi imaxad-ka?	Why did you go?
Ngaramto ag-mo-angánan?	Why did you not eat?
Ngaramto ag-mo-anginóman?	Why did you not drink?
Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo?	Why did you not go home?
Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo kabuasan?	Why did you not go home yesterday?
Ngaramto ag-mo anumkalan saxei a kabadyo nem guara-ka chi Guasington?	Why did you not buy a horse when you were in Washington?

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Bearing in mind the existence in Nabaloi of the special prefix *maka*, to denote ownership, it is but natural that our query "Whose house is this?" should in that dialect be: "Who is the owner of this house?"

Sepai makabalei níai?	Whose house is this?
Sepai makaasu níai?	Whose dog is this?
Sepai makatáad níai?	Whose knife is this?
Sepai makakadubong níai?	Whose hat is this?

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

A list of the more common adverbs follows with examples illustrating their use and showing also how some English adverbs are rendered:

Siged	Well	*Mapangdu*	Being the first
Istayan	Nearly, all but	*Maunut*	Being the last
Ingis-to	Likewise	*Totógua*	In truth
Na chile or *nga chile*	Very	*Sigucho* (Sp., seguro)	Surely
Ootik	A little	*Numan, ngo*	Also
Múan	Again	*Ag-da*	No more, no longer
Niman	Now, to-day	*Ag*	Not
Kachiman	Yesterday	*Ūen, ōn*	Yes
Kachiman saxei	The day before yesterday	*Tinaoen*	Yearly
Nuntan	Before	*Anchí*	No
Abayag da	Long ago	*Chiai*[1] *diai*	Here
Asanem or *nem asanem*	Later	*Chiman*[1] *'d'man*	There
Akai or *nem akai*	Afterwards	*Chitan*[1] *'d'tan*	There
Sabadin akou	Some other day		
Áneng	Not yet	*Chi inaidaem*	Within
Inaáchem	In the afternoon	*Chi daspág*	Below
Kalbían	Last night	*Chi inaitapou*	On top
Kabuasan palbangun	To-morrow early	*Chi inakayang*	Above
		Chi inaidúung	Underneath
Suta taón da	Last year	*Chi inaiáskang*	Alongside
Suta bulan alí	Next month	*Chi inaidingeb*	Behind
Inakou	Daily	*Chi inaikawa*	In the middle
Binudan	Monthly	*Chi piig*	On the other side
Angken pigan	Whenever, always	*Bingad*	Only
Angken ngaramto e paseng	Anyhow	*Siya*	Yes (emphatic). "It is so, as I say (impatiently)"
Angken twái	Wherever		
Kalnuasan	To-morrow	*Singa*	So as, in the same way as
Buasto	The day after to-morrow	*Aligoa*	A negation containing a reference to something different
Buasto saxei	The second day after to-morrow		
Achaxel	Much		
Angsan	Too much		

[1] *Chiai*, *chiman*, and *chitan* are composed of the particle *chi* (in, to, toward), which is the Pangasinan *ed* and the Kankanai *di*, and *iai*, *inam*, and *itan*, respectively. They, as well as the nine other adverbs beginning with *chi*, for euphonic reasons often change this *chi* after a vowel into *d'*, which is then pronounced as a suffix to the preceding word. For instance: *Tokala 'diai*, come here; *guara 'd'man*, it is there; *guara ammo'd' daspag*, it seems to be below.

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Examples

Papaseng-mo siged.	Do (it) well.
Istayan-ak atei.	I was on the point of dying.
Kanuim alí.	Come here quickly.
Ingis-to e dinkan-to.	He did it the same way.
Ampetang nga chile.	It is very hot.
Kaadyam ootik.	Lift it up a little.
Ibagán-mo múan.	Ask again.
Insas-ko niman.	I saw it now.
Inamtak nuntan.	I knew it before.
Andao-ak nem akai.	I shall go later on.
Kachiman imutok-to.	He arrived yesterday.
Balei-mo iai?	Is this your house?
Aligoa.	It is not so; it is a different one.
Aligoa'n iai.	It is not this, but a different one.
Aligoa'n balei-ko.	It is not my house (but that of somebody else).
Aligoa'n kinibot-ko binaánes-ko.	I did not steal it; I borrowed it.
Adibaien-ta-ka nem kabuasan.	I shall visit you to-morrow.
Tokala diai.	Come here.
Andao-ka 'd'man.	Go there.
Anchi chanum chiai.	There is no water here.
Isumanan-mo angken chiman.	You may put it there.
Achaxel e inaguat-to.	He has received much.
Ootik bingad e insas-ko.	I saw only a little.
Angsan numan sutan.	That is indeed too much.
Sikáto atei a totógua.	He is really dead.
Ingkuan-ko ngo.	I have said (so) also.
Mapangdu iai.	This comes first.
Naúnut era.	They came last.
Aneng imugao-cha.	They have not yet arrived.
Agda aman-sakit.	(He is) no longer sick.
Ag-ka mampapaádek.	Don't you gamble; never gamble.
Angken pigan ag alí aman-aadíbai.	(He) never comes visiting (me).

PREPOSITIONS

The following examples show the idiomatic rendering in Nabaloi of English sentences containing prepositions. Where Nabaloi prepositions occur they are printed in boldface type:

Andao-ak **chi** *Bengnget.*	I go to Benguet.
Andao kita **'d** *Bengnget.*	Let us two go to Benguet.
Insas-ta kayo nan Kuan.	I saw you with John. (Lit.: Of John.)
Sepai e inudup-mo?	With whom did you go? (Lit.: Who was your companion?)
Era-ka-aman-bakal ne Kastil.	They are fighting against the Spaniards. (Lit.: They are being fighters of the Spaniards.)
Na-kapan-asa sutan **angkad** *diai.*	I am seeing that from here.
Ama-dungaia'd' man e padok.	The river is visible from there.

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Chi *balei-ko* **angkad** *balei-mo inaiaragui.*	It is far from my house to your house.
E too inanbag-to **chi** *kíu.*	The man is standing on a log.
Isuman e táad-ko **chi** *palteng-ko.*[1]	I will put my knife in my pocket.
Isuman-mo e táad-mo **chi** *palteng-mo asanem.*	You will put your knife in your pocket.
Isuman-ko e kadubong-ko **chi** *damisáan.*	I will put my hat on the table.
To-kapan-idúung kadubong-to **chi** *damisáan.*	He is putting his hat under the table.
Kimenneng e maxauas **chi** *dóot.*	The deer is standing in the bushes.
Sai balei-ko guara **chi** *Bagio.*	I live at Baguio.
Sai balei-ko guara **chi** *Bagio nuntan.*	I lived at Baguio.
E báxes moókip **chi** *kiu.*	The monkey lives (Lit.: Sleeps) in a tree.
Sai kauanan ne maxauas guara **chi** *chuntuk.*	The deer lives in the woods.
Era-ka-ama-múul e adet **chi** *Pias.*	They are burning off the grass in Pias.
Anchi mapteng **sun** *sikara angken saxei.*	There is not even one good (man) among them.
Saidiai e cha-kapan sungura.	They are coming toward here.
Pabaanes-ka iai angkad kabuasan.	I lend this (to you) till to-morrow.
Kiu ne balei-ko iai.	This timber is for my house.
Sudat-mo iai.	This letter is for you (this is your letter).
Nem ag sikam, ikak-andao.	If (it were) not (for) you, I (would) not go.
Pinilit-ko.	I did (it) by force.
Dagen-ko kompolme (Sp., conforme) *e ingkuan-mo.*	I shall do according to your words.
Ag mabadin na mangan nem ag manubda.	One can not eat without working. (Lit.: If not work.)
Saad-to e pinantabtabal-me.	We are talking about his office. (Lit.: His office (is) the topic of us.)
Taad e impandagak.	I did it with a knife. (Lit.: Knife was my instrument in working.)
E balei guara inaiáskang **chi** *padok.*[2]	The house is by the river.
To be idiomatic this must be rendered:	
Isuman-cha e balei inaiáskang chi padok. (They will put the house by the river.)	The house will be by the river.
E balei guara inaiáskang **chi** *padok nuntan.*	The house was by the river.
E kiu akaldiap **chi** *chanum.*	Wood floats in the water.
E báto dimáned **chi** *chanum.*	A stone sinks in the water.
E paltog dimáned **chi** *chanum.*	A gun sinks in the water.
E panag akaldiap **chi** *chanum.*	An arrow floats on the water.
Andao kame nan Kuan **chi** *Guasington.*[3]	I will go to Washington with John.
Andao kame nan ámak **chi** *Guasington.*	I will go to Washington with my father.

[1] As Igorot have no pockets in the loin cloth and cloak which form their tribal costume I have rendered "pocket" by *palteng*, which is a small wickerwork basket hung over the shoulder and that takes all little odds and ends of everyday use. Occasionally things are also put away by wrapping them into the folds of the loin cloth, an action which is called *ibútong*.

[2] Idiomatic: *Teai kaanán ne balei to?* (Where is the site of his house?) *Inaiaskang chi padok e kaanán-tó.* (Its site is near the river.)

[3] Washington is pronounced by Igorot "Guasington."

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Andao kame nan Kuan **chi** *balei.*	I will go home with John.
Mapangdu-ak dya anaxat **sun** *ámak* **chi** *balei.*	I will go home before my father. (Lit.: I am going to be the first who goes with relation to my father to house.)
Manúnud-ak dya anaxat **sun** *Kuan* **chi** *balei.*	I will go home after John. (Lit.: I am going to be the last who goes with relation to John to house.)
Manúnud-ak dya anaxat **sun** *ámak* **chi** *balei.*	I will go home after my father.
Ibaag-ko sun kapitan **maipoon** *ne baka.*	I will speak to the headman about the cows.

He is on the horse

Is	*Inankabadyo-to*
Was	*Inankabadyo-to nuntan*
Will be	*Mangkabadyo-to asanem*

The hat is on the table

Is	*E kadubong guara* **chi** *damisáan*
Was	*E kadubong guara* **chi** *damisáan nuntan*
Will be	*E kadubong guara* **chi** *damisáan asanem*

The bow is on the ground

Bow is	*E pana guara* **chi** *búdai*
Arrow was	*E pana guara* **chi** *búdai nuntan*
Quiver will be	*Suta balei-to ne pana guara* **chi** *búdai asanem*

The knife is in my pocket

Is in my	*E táad guara* **chi** *palteng-ko*
Was in his	*E táad guara* **chi** *palteng-ko nuntan*

The horse is on the hill

Is	*E kabadyo guara* **chi** *chuntuk*
Was	*E kabadyo guara* **chi** *chuntuk nuntan*

Inaipíril ne báto	By the stone
Inaiaskang ne báto	Near the stone
Inaitědtěd ne báto	Under the stone
Inaitápo ne báto	On the stone
Inaipíig ne báto	Beyond the stone
Chi *inaitápo ne chanum*	On the water
Chi *chanum*	In the water
Chi *inaichálem ne chanum*	Under the water

TO BE IN THE HOUSE

I am in the house

I	*Guara-ak* **chi** *balei*
You	*Guara-ka* **chi** *balei*
You and I	*Sikam tan sikak, guara kita* **chi** *balei*

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He (or she)	*Sikáto guara* **chi** *balei*
He and I	*Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame* **chi** *balei*
Ye (dual)	*Guara kayo chua* **chi** *balei*
They (dual)	*Guara era'n chua* **chi** *balei.* (Also: *Sikara'n chua guara* **chi** *balei.*)
We (ye and I)	*Guara tayo* **chi** *balei*
We (they and I)	*Guara kame* **chi** *balei*
Ye (plural)	*Guara kayo* **chi** *balei*
They (plural)	*Guara era* **chi** *balei*

For the past tense *nuntan* and for the future tense *asanem* or *nem asanem* are added at the end of the sentence.

CONJUNCTIONS

Sikak **tan** *sikam.*	I and you.
Andao-ak niman **tan** *kabuasan iulik.*	I leave to-day and return to-morrow.
Angken ikuan-mo ikak-manikan.	Although you say (so), I do not believe it.
Angken inap-ko siged ikak-insas.	Although I searched well, I did not see (it).
Baichan-mo-ak angken ootik.	Pay me (something), even (if it be) a little.
Emenem atei si amam . . .	If (supposing) your father should die . . .
Nem *pian-mo manudup kita.*	If you like, let us go together.
Nem *anuchan* **nem** *kabuasan ikakandao.*	If it rains to-morrow I shall not go.
Nem *asas-ko sawei a maxagoas paltogan-ko.*	If I see a deer I will shoot it.
Nem *isikdiat-mo asu kadáten-to-ka.*	The dog will bite you if you kick him.
Nem *anakét kayo anoókip-ak.*	I will sleep if you will be still.
Anágachak[1] *chi balei-ko* **nem** *dinabung-cha kabadyok.*	I will go home when my horse is caught.
Siged antungao-ka **tap** *inabdé-ka.*	Better sit down because you are tired.
Nak-manganúb **tap** *nak-aman-akán.*	I am going hunting because I am hungry.
Akotai númnum-ko **tap** *mo-ak-sinapdet.*	I am angry (Lit.: Bad mind mine) because you struck me.
Ikak-pian na mangan **tap** *inab-sel-ak.*	I do not want to eat more because I am satisfied.
Ipastol-mo e kabadyo chi payou **sai** *antabá.*	Pasture the horse in the rice field in order to have it become fat.
Ngaramto e dagenan mo so níai?	What do you do that for?
Impaaxád-ko sun sikáto **ngem**[2] *agto-pian angtungpal.*	I told him to go away, but he would not obey.
Akal makim **ta**[3] *machichal.*	Do not touch it, lest you break it.
Nem *makcheng e uran angsikit.*	After it has finished raining there will be sunshine.
Andao kita **nem** *makcheng e mangan.*	Let us go after having finished our meal.

[1] *Anágachak*, contraction of *anágad-ak*.
[2] *Ngem* (but) different from *nem* (if, when).
[3] *Ta* I hold to be the same as *tan*, and.

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THE VERB

FORMATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF VERBAL FORMS

The Nabaloi verb presents the same fundamental character as the verb of all the other Philippine dialects.

Divesting it of the agglutinated particles we find as kernel the root word, the bare expression of a single idea. Such a root is, for instance, *dag-a*, meaning as well "the work" as "to work," "to do," "to make" (past tense, *dimaga*). With the help of particles the language developed these roots into words with more specific meanings, not by establishing a distinction coinciding precisely with that in English between nouns and verbs but by expressing through special particles the closer relation existing, according to the sense of the speech, between the activity denoted by the root on one side and the performer or the object, the locality, the instrument, etc., of that action on the other side. The words to which these particles have been added and which express this relation are given the character of nouns but they can be modified as to time like verbs.

Thus, from above root *dag-a*, for instance, two forms are obtained:

(1) With prefix *mang*	*mandag-a*	The worker, doer, maker.[1]
(2) With suffix *en*	*dag-en*	The object of doing, making, the work.

The sentence "I make a house" can be doubly expressed:

Mandaga-ak	*ne*	*saxei a*	*balei*	(or)	*Saxei a*	*balei*	*e*	*dagen-ko*
Maker I	of	a	house		A	house	the	work of me
(Past tense: *Nandaga*, was maker)					(Past tense: *Dingka*, was work)			

The question as to which of these two forms is to be used in any case is decided by the accent the speaker is laying either on the circumstance of his being occupied as one who builds or on the object of his activity, the house, as will be seen from the following questions and answers:

Ngaramto	*mandaga*	*ka?*		*Mandaga-ak*	*ne*	*balei*	
What	worker	you?		Worker I	of	house	
Ngaramto	*e*	*dagen*	*mo?*	*Balei*	*e*	*dagen*	*ko*
What	the	work	of you?	House	the	work	of me

The manner in which the relation existing between the verbal form and another part of the sentence is accentuated by special particles is illustrated further in the following examples:

Root, *Al-a*, To Fetch[2]

(Past, *imala*)

[1] Or "to be the worker, doer, maker." Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

[2] *Al-a* has not only the meaning "to fetch" but also the wide and vague one of English "to get" in phrases like "get me a pencil."

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Prefix, *mang*:

Sepai e mangala ne kabadyok? Sikak e mangala
Who the fetcher of horse mine? I the fetcher

(Prefix, *nang;* past, *nangala*)

Suffix, *en*:

Ngaramto e aaden-mo?
What the object of fetching thine?

Kabadyom e aaden-ko
Horse thine the object of fetching mine

(Prefix, *in;* past, *inda*)

Prefix and suffix, *pang-an:*

Twai e pangalaan-mo ne kiu?
Where the fetching place thine of wood?

Chiman e pangalaan-ko
Over there the fetching place mine

(Infix, *in;* past, *pinangalaan*)

Prefix, *pang:*

Ngaramto e pangalam ne kiu?[1]
What the instrument of fetching thine of wood

Iai e pangalak
This the instrument of fetching mine

(Infix *in;* past, *pinangala*)

Suffix, *an:*

Sepai e aadan[2] *mo ne tabaco?*
Who the supplier thine of tobacco?

Si Mateo e aadan ko so[3]
Mateo the supplier mine of this

Prefix, *in:*

(Past, *indaan*)

This peculiar trait of making use of different verbal forms having the character of nouns to mark the relation existing between the verb and some other part of the sentence, or, in other words, to mark the predominance in a sentence either of the performer or the object, locality, instrument, etc., of the action, clearly shows the relationship of Nabaloi to the other Philippine dialects, all of which have this peculiarity.

It is in keeping with this trait that the performer should be emphasized whenever the object is a more or less indefinite one—for instance, when

[1] More idiomatically, *ngaramto e pangngiu-mo?* Root, *kiu*, wood; *pangngiu*, to use something to cut or fetch wood, also the thing so used.

[2] The employment in this case of a form with suffix *an*, which denotes locality, is interesting not only because it shows what the natives may conceive as locality at which an action takes place but also because it shows how the English prepositional construction, "From whom do you get your tobacco?" is expressed in Nabaloi.

[3] I am not sure that I translate *so* correctly by "of this."

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it has the indefinite article. Given the root *bunu*, to kill, "I kill a dog" would be *Mamunu-ak ne saxei a asu* (Lit.: "Killer I of a dog," present or future), but "I kill this dog" ("this" emphasized) is *Bunuin-ko iai a asu* (Lit.: "Killing object mine this dog," present or future).[1] In both cases, however, the emphasis can be shifted again by a yet stronger accentuation of the other part:

Saxei a	*asu e*	*bunuin-ko,*	*aligoa*	*saxei a manok*
A	dog the	killing object mine,	not	a chicken

And—

Sikak	*e*	*mamunu*	*níai*	*a asu,*	*aligoa*	*si Kuan*
I	the	killer	of this	dog,	not	John

How a stem denoting not an activity but a thing may be given verbal force has already been shown under the heading "Roots and particles." The following are instances of the verbalization of roots signifying substance with the help of the prefix *mang: Kiu*, wood; *mang-ngíu*, to cut or fetch wood; *adet*, grass; *mang-adet*, to cut and fetch grass (for fodder).

ON PARTICLES

The vigor, terseness, and elegance of the Malayan dialects, to which Nabaloi clearly belongs, result from and are proportionate to the treasure they all have of agglutinative particles of various meanings, coupled with the pliancy of the root in admitting such particles. The particles employed in the examples so far quoted are only some of the more usual ones. They may further not be applied at will to any and all roots. In the table following these explanatory remarks will be found the conjugation of the verb "to plant," *usak*. This verb, to emphasize the object, does not take the suffix *en* or *in* but the prefix *i*, which in this combination signifies the action expressed by the root as executed at or with or with relation to the object in question: *Iasak mo iai a kíu*, "Let this tree be the object at (or with) which you execute the operation of planting;" "plant this tree."

The manner in which the root as well as the particle may be affected phonetically through the agglutination—that is, their tendency to melt into each other—will already have been noticed in the case of the prefix *mang*, which, as shown, forms *nomina agentis:*

Before *a* the prefix *mang* remains unchanged	*mang-ala*
Before *b* the *ng* disappears, having converted the *b* of the root into *m*	*ma-munu* (root, *bunu*)
Before *d* the *ng* is reduced to *n*	*man-daga*
Before *k* the *ng* assimilates the *k* of the root	*mang-ngíu* (root, *kiu*)

I content myself with pointing out these letter changes as they occur in the examples used by me, without attempting to establish any rules.

[1] Compare also *Iai a baka e bunuin ni* (or *nan*) *Kuan:* This cow is John's killing object.

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ON TENSES

In verbal forms like those presented at the beginning of this section (*mandaga*, *dagen*, *mangala*, *aaden*, *pangalaan*, etc.) it is not decided whether the action is to take place now, presently, or at some later time. If this is not to be understood from the sense of the speech it must be made clear by adding such words as *niman*, now; *asanem*, later on; *kabuasan*, to-morrow, etc. The range of this indefinite tense is limited by the existence of only two other tenses:

(1) A continuative, signifying that the action has already begun and is still progressing. This is formed (see the following tables) with *ka-aman* (*ama*) for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and *ka-pan*[1] for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

(2) A past tense, formed with prefix *ang* (*an*, *a*) or *nang* (*nan*, *na*) or *inan*[2] for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and with prefix or infix *in* (*im*) for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

PARADIGMS

Root, *Bunu*, To Kill

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Na-ka ama-munu	mamunu-ak[1]	amunu-ak[2]
Second person singular	Ka-ka ama-munu	mamunu-ka	amunu-ka
Third person singular	To-ka ama-munu	mamunu-to	amunu-to
First person plural	Kame ka ama-munu	mamunu kame	amunu kame[3]
Second person plural	Kayo ka ama-munu	mamunu kayo	amunu kayo
Third person plural	Era ka ama-munu	mamunu era	amunu era[4]
Imperative, *mamunu-ka*			

[1] Or *nak mamunu*.
[2] Or *nak amunu*.
[3] To avoid cumbersome repetition I given only the exclusive plural; the inclusive plural and the dual are obtained by simply substituting *tayo* or *kita*, respectively, for *kame* or *me* of the paradigm.
[4] Other forms: *Na-munu-ak*, etc., and *inan-munu-ak*, etc. (past tense of the continuative form).

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Na-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-ko[1]	binuk
Second person singular	Mo-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-mo[2]	binum
Third person singular	To-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-to	bunu-to
First person plural	Me-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-me (kame)	binu-me
Second person plural	Dyo-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-dyo	binu-dyo
Third person plural	Cha-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-cha	binu-cha
Imperative, *bunuin-mo*			

[1] Though pronounced *bunuin*, the suffix is really *en*, not *in*. [2] Also *bunuim* and *bínum*.

[1] These particles *ka-pan* if connected with verbal forms having the suffix *en* or *an* change that suffix into *a*: *Ibagán-ko*, my point of inquiry; continuative, *na-ka-pan ibága*. *Adibaien-ko*, the person visited by me; *na-ka-pan adibaia*. Root, *bugnad*, to shift a horse to another pasture; *bugnáren-ko*, to be the object of such action of mine; continuative, *na-ka-pan bugnára*.

[2] *Inan* I suspect to be the past of the continuative form *ka-aman*.

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Root, *Asak*, To Plant

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Na-ka aman asak	manasak-ak	nanasak-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman asak	manasak-ka	nanasak-ka
Third person singular	To-ka aman asak	manasak-to	nanasak-to
First person plural	Kame ka aman asak	manasak kame	nanasak kame
Second person plural	Kayo ka aman asak	manasak kayo	nanasak kayo
Third person plural	Era ka aman asak	manasak era	nanasak era[1]
Imperative, *manasak-ka*			

[1] Also *an-asak-ak*, etc., and *inan-asak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Na-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-ko	insak-ko
Second person singular	Mo-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-mo	insak-mo
Third person singular	To-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-to	insak-to
First person plural	Me-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-me (kame)	insak-me
Second person plural	Dyo-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-dyo	insak-dyo
Third person plural	Cha-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-cha	insak-cha[1]
Imperative, *iasak-mo*			

[1] Also *inasak-ko*, etc.

To Cause to Kill

Root, *Bunu*, To Kill

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Na-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-ak	nanpamunu-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-ka	nanpamunu-ka
Third person singular	To-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-to	nanpamunu-to
First person plural	Kame ka aman pamunu	mampamunu kame	nanpamunu kame
Second person plural	Kayo ka aman pamunu	mampamunu kayo	nanpamunu kayo
Third person plural	Era ka aman pamunu	mampamunu era	nanpamunu era[1]
Imperative, *mampabunu-ka*			

[1] Also *inan pamunu-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Na-ka-pabunu	pabunuk	impabunuk
Second person singular	Mo-ka-pabunu	pabunum	impabunum
Third person singular	To-ka-pabunu	pabunu-to	impabunu-to
First person plural	Me-ka-pabunu	pabunu-me	impabunu-me
Second person plural	Dyo-ka-pabunu	pabunu-dyo	impabunu-dyo
Third person plural	Cha-ka-pabunu	pabunu-cha	impabunu-cha
Imperative, *pabunum*			

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To Cause to Plant

Root, *Asak*, To Plant

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Na-ka aman paasak	mampaasak-ak	nanpaasak-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman paasak	mampaasak-ka	nanpaasak-ka
Third person singular	To-ka aman paasak	mampaasak-to	nanpaasak-to
First person plural	Kame ka aman paasak	mampaasak-kame	nanpaasak-kame
Second person plural	Kayo ka aman paasak	mampaasak-kayo	nanpaasak-kayo
Third person plural	Era ka aman paasak	mampaasak era	nanpaasak era[1]
Imperative, *mampaasak-ka*			

[1] Also *inan paasak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Na-ka-paasak[1]	paasak-ko	impaasak-ko
Second person singular	Mo-ka-paasak	paasak-mo	impaasak-mo
Third person singular	To-ka-paasak	paasak-to	impaasak-to
First person plural	Me-ka-paasak	paasak-me	impaasak-me
Second person plural	Dyo-ka-paasak	paasak-dyo	impaasak-dyo
Third person plural	Cha-ka-paasak[1]	paasak-cha	impaasak-cha
Imperative, *paasak-mo*			

[1] Also *na-ka-pan-paasak*, etc.

NEGATIVE FORMS

Root, *Bunu*, To Kill

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Aligua na-ka-ama munu	ikak mamunu	ikak amunu
Second person singular	Aligua ka-ka-ama munu	ag-ka mamunu	ag-ka amunu
Third person singular	Aligua to-ka-ama munu	ag-to mamunu	ag-to amunu
First person plural	Aligua kame ka ama munu	ag-kame mamunu	ag-kame amunu
Second person plural	Aligua kayo ka ama munu	ag-kayo mamunu	ag-kayo amunu
Third person plural	Aligua era ka ama munu	ag-era mamunu	ag-era amunu
Imperative, *ag-ka mamunu*			

NOTE.—It appears that all these tenses may be construed either with the negative particle *ag* or with *aligua*. I give them as they are most often heard.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Aligua na-ka-pan-bunua	ag-ko-bunuin	ag-ko-binu
Second person singular	Aligua mo-ka-pan-bunua	ag-mo-bunuin	ag-mo-binu
Third person singular	Aligua to-ka-pan-bunua	ag-to-bunuin	ag-to-binu
First person plural	Aligua me-ka-pan-bunua	ag-me-bunuin	ag-me-binu
Second person plural	Aligua dyo-ka-pan-bunua	ag-dyo-bunuin	ag-dyo-binu
Third person plural	Aligua cha-ka-pan-bunua	ag-cha-bunuin	ag-cha-binu
Imperative, *ag-mo bunuin*			

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Root, *Asak*, To Plant

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular	Aligua na-ka aman asak	ikak manasak	ikak anasak
Second person singular	Aligua ka-ka aman asak	ag-ka manasak	ag-ka anasak
Third person singular	Aligua to-ka aman asak	ag-to manasak	ag-to anasak
First person plural	Aligua kame ka aman asak	ag-kame manasak	ag-kame anasak
Second person plural	Aligua kayo ka aman asak	ag-kayo manasak	ag-kayo anasak
Third person plural	Aligua era ka aman asak	ag-era manasak	ag-era anasak
Imperative, *ag-ka manasak*			

Note.—The foregoing note applies equally to this paradigm.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular	Aligua na-kapan-iasak	ag-ko iasak	ag-ko inasak
Second person singular	Aligua mo-kapan-iasak	ag-mo iasak	ag-mo inasak
Third person singular	Aligua to-kapan-iasak	ag-to iasak	ag-to inasak
First person plural	Aligua me-kapan-iasak	ag-me iasak	ag-me inasak
Second person plural	Aligua dyo-kapan-iasak	ag-dyo iasak	ag-dyo inasak
Third person plural	Aligua cha-kapan-iasak	ag-cha iasak	ag-cha inasak
Imperative, *ag-mo iasak*			

THE PASSIVE VOICE

Bunu, To Kill

Form	I am killed (present or future tense), etc.	I was (or have been) killed, etc.
First person singular	Mabunu-ak	abunu-ak
Second person singular	Mabunu-ka	abunu-ka
Third person singular	Mabunu-to	abunu-to
First person plural	Mabunu-kame	abunu-kame
Second person plural	Mabunu-kayo	abunu-kayo
Third person plural	Mabu u-era	abunu-era

Examples

Mabunu-ak nem kabuasan	I shall be killed to-morrow.
Guara saxei a too abunu	There is a man killed.

Another rendering of the passive voice and one apparently more in use is according to the following examples:

Cha-ak-ka-panbunua	They are killing me; or, I am being killed by them.
Cha-ka-ka-panbunua	They are killing you; or, you are being killed by them.
Cha-kame-ka-panbunua	They are killing us; or, we are being killed by them.
Cha-ka-panbunua sun sikara	They are killing them; or, they are being killed by them.

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PAST TENSE

Binunu-cha-ak	They killed me; or, I was killed by them.
Binunu-cha sun sikáto	They killed him; or, he was killed by them.
Binunu-cha sun sikayo	They killed you; or, you were killed by them.

CONJUGATION OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Root, *Kalbig*, To Strike with the Fist

Agent emphasized	Object emphasized
I am striking with the fist, etc.	*Is being struck by me with the fist, etc.*
Na-ka ama-ngalbig	Na-ka pan-kalbiga
Ka-ka ama-ngalbig	Mo-ka pan-kalbiga
To-ka ama-ngalbig	To-ka pan-kalbiga
Kame ka ama-ngalbig	Me-ka pan-kalbiga
Kayo ka ama-ngalbig	Dyo-ka pan-kalbiga
Era ka ama ngalbig	Cha-ka pan-kalbiga
I struck with the fist, etc.	*Was struck by me with the fist, etc.*
Angalbig-ak	Kinalbig-ko[1]
Angalbig-ka	Kinalbig-mo
Angalbig-to	Kinalbig-to
Angalbig kame	Kinalbig-me
Angalbig kayo	Kinalbig-dyo
Angalbig era	Kinalbig-cha
I strike with the fist (present or future), etc.	*Is struck by me with the fist (present or future), etc.*
Mangalbig-ak	Kalbigen-ko
Mangalbig-ka	Kalbigen-mo
Mangalbig-to	Kalbigen-to
Mangalbig kame	Kalbigen-me
Mangalbig kayo	Kalbigen-dyo
Mangalbig era	Kalbigen-cha

[1] Also pronounced *kinilbig-ko*.

Conjugation of the transitive verb, root "kalbig" (to strike with the fist), with object expressed by a personal pronoun

	I am striking	I struck	I strike
Thee	ta ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-ta ka	kalbigen-ta ka
Him	na kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-ko sun sikáto	kalbigen-ko sun sikáto
You	ta kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-ta kayo	kalbigen-ta kayo
Them	na kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-ko era; or, kinalbig-ko sun sikara	kalbigen-ko era
	Thou art striking	**Thou struckest**	**Thou strikest**
Me	mo ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-mo ak	kalbigen-mo ak
Him	mo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-mo sun sikáto	kalbigen-mo sun sikáto
Us	mo kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-mo kame	kalbigen-mo kame
Them	mo era kapan kalbiga; or, mo kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-mo era; or, kinalbig-mo sun sikara	kalbigen-mo sun sikara

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Conjugation of the transitive verb, root "kalbig," etc.—Continued

	He is striking	He struck	He strikes
Me	to ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to ak	kalbigen-to ak
Thee	to ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to ka	kalbigen-to ka
Him	to kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-to sun sikáto	kalbigen-to sun sikáto
Us	to kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to kame	kalbigen-to kame
You	to kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to kayo	kalbigen-to kayo
Them	to era kapan kalbiga; or, to kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-to era; or, kinalbig-to sun sikara	kalbigen-to era; or, kalbigen-to sun sikara
	We are striking[1]	**We struck**	**We strike**
Thee	me ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-me ka	kalbigen-me ka
Him	me kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-me sun sikáto	kalbigen-me sun sikáto
You	me kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-me kayo	kalbigen-me kayo
Them	me era kapan kalbiga; or, me kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-me era	kalbigen-me era; or, kalbigen-me sun sikara
	You are striking[2]	**You struck**	**You strike**
Me	dyo ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-dyo ak	kalbigen-dyo ak
Him	dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-dyo sun sikáto	kalbigen-dyo sun sikáto
Us	dyo kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-dyo kame	kalbigen-dyo kame
Them	dyo era kapan kalbiga; or, dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-dyo era; or, kinalbig-dyo sun sikara	kalbigen-dyo era; or, kalbigen-dyo sun sikara
	They are striking[3]	**They struck**	**They strike**
Me	cha ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha ak	kalbigen-cha ak
Thee	cha ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha ka	kalbigen-cha ka
Him	cha kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-cha sun sikáto	kalbigen-cha sun sikáto
Us	cha kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha kame	kalbigen-cha kame
You	cha kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha kayo	kalbigen-cha kayo
Them	cha kapan kalbiga sun sikara; or, cha era kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha sun sikara	kalbigen-cha sun sikara

[1] Thou and I, we . . . Sikam tan sikak, kita . . .
He and I, we . . . Sikáto tan sikak, me . . .
Ye and I, we . . . Sikayo tan sikak, tayo . . .
They and I, we . . . Sikara tan sikak, me . . .
[2] You (dual), *sikayo'n chua, dyo* . . .
[3] They (dual), *sikara'n chua, cha* . . .

NOTE.—The neutral pronoun "it" is generally not expressed: "Did he strike the letter with the fist?" (*Kinalbig-to e sudat?*) "Yes; he struck it." (*Ón, kinalbig-to* or *kinalbig-to so*, in which last case *so* might be the equivalent of "it.")

Further examples of transitive verbs

Na-kapan kana tinapai. (*a*) I am eating bread.
Mo-kapan kana tinapai. (*b*) You are eating bread.
Sikam tan sikak, tayo kapan kana tinapai. (*c*) You and I are eating bread.
Me-kapan kana tinapai. (*d*) We are eating bread.
Cha-kapan kana tinapai. (*e*) They are eating bread.

The past tense of the continuative form emphasizing the object can to my knowledge be rendered only by adding *nuntan*, meaning "some time ago," to the present tense as given in sentences (*a*)–(*e*).

I was eating bread.
You were eating bread.
You and I were eating bread.
We were eating bread.
They were eating bread.

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Si Kuan pan kanai tinapai.	John is eating bread.
Si Kuan pan kanai aapag.	John is eating meat.
Si Kuan pan kanai ikan.	John is eating fish.
Si Kuan pan sidiupa chigu.	John is eating soup.
E kabadyo pan kanai tige.	The horse is eating corn.
E baka pan kanai adét.	The cow is eating grass.
E páiyad pan kanai tige.	The bird is eating corn.
E páiyad pan kanai bekás.	The bird is eating rice.
Na-ka-aman inom ne chanum.	I am drinking water.
Anginom-ak ne chanum.	I have drunk water.
Manginom-ak ne chanum asanem.	I will drink water.
Si Kuan aman inom ne chanum.	John is drinking water.
E kabadyo aman inom ne chanum.	The horse is drinking water.
E ngiau aman inom ne chanum.	The cat is drinking water.
E asu aman inom ne chanum.	The dog is drinking water.
E páiyad aman inom ne chanum.	The bird is drinking water.
E kabadyo tinábui-to e aának.	The horse threw the boy.
Saman a kabadyo tabúien-to-ka.	That horse will throw you.
Nak-manganúb saxei a maxágoas.	I will go hunting deer.
Nak-manúlo ne bued.	I will go hunting mountain rats (in traps).
Nak-mamáltog ne kuat.	I will go shooting quails.
Nak-mamáltog ne páxao.	I will go shooting eagles.

It must be borne in mind that the preceding English sentences can be rendered in Nabaloi with the help of two different verbal forms, according to whether the subject or the object is emphasized. In the first sentence, *Na-ka-pan kanai tinapai*, it will be found (by referring to the first table, root *bunu*) that the object is the accentuated part. If the subject were to be accentuated the sentence would be *Na-ka amá ngan ne tinapai* (past tense, *Aná-ngan-ak ne tinapai*).

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

To be thirsty

	I am thirsty	I was thirsty	I will be thirsty
I	na-ka aman akou	naakou-ak	maakou-ak
You	ka-ka aman akou	naakou-ka	maakou-ka
Thou and I	sikam tan sikak ka aman akou	sikam tan sikak, naakou kita	sikam tan sikak, maakou kita
He	aman akou-to	naakou-to	maakou-to
He and I	sikáto tan sikak ka aman akou	sikáto tan sikak, naakou kame	sikáto tan sikak, maakou kame
Ye (dual)	kayo ka aman akou a chua	naakou kayo a chua	maakou kayo a chua
They (dual)	era ka aman akou a chua	naakou era'n chua	maakou era'n chua
We (ye and I)	sikatayo ka aman akou	sikatayo naakou; or, naakou tayo	sikatayo maakou; or, maakou tayo
We (they and I)	sikame ka aman akou	naakou kame	maakou kame
Ye (plural)	kayo ka aman akou	naakou-kayo	maakou kayo
They (plural)	era ka aman akou	naakou-era	maakou era

Aman akou si Kuan, John is thirsty
Aman akou e kabadyo, The horse is thirsty

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To be hungry

	I am hungry	I was hungry	I will be hungry
I	na-ka aman akang	naakang-ak	maakang-ak
You	ka-ka aman akang	naakang-ka	maakang-ka
Thou and I	sikam tan sikak ka aman akang	sikam tan sikak, na-akang kita	sikam tan sikak, ma-akang kita
He	sikáto aman akang; or, aman akang-to	naakang-to	maakang-to
He and I	sikáto tan sikak ka aman akang	sikáto tan sikak, na-akang kame	sikáto tan sikak, ma-akang kame
Ye (dual)	kayo ka aman akang a chua	naakang kayo a chua	maakang kayo a chua
They (dual)	sikara'n chua aman akang; or, era ka aman akang a chua	naakang era'n chua	maakang era'n chua
We (ye and I)	sikatayo ka aman akang	sikatayo naakang; or, naakang tayo	sikatayo maakang; or, maakang tayo
We (they and I)	sikame ka aman akang	naakang kame	maakang kame
Ye (plural)	kayo ka aman akang	naakang kayo	maakang kayo
They (plural)	sikara aman akang; or, era ka aman akang	naakang era	maakang era

Aman akang si Kuan, John is hungry
Aman akang e kabadyo, The horse is hungry

NOTE.—In all forms *akang* is also pronounced *agang*. In *na-ka aman akang* the *ka* is mostly pronounced *xa;* the same applies to all paradigms where *na-ka aman* occurs.

Further examples of intransitive verbs

Na-ka aman kaneng tan ningning.	I am standing and looking.
Inan kaneng-to tan ningning-to.	He was standing and looking.
Na-ka aman tungao tan ama-ngan.	I am sitting and eating.
Inan tungao-to tan aná-ngan.	He was sitting and eating.
Inan kaneng-to tan to kapan aknian saxei a paltog.	He was standing and holding a gun.
Inaknian-to paltog.	He held a gun.
Insilip-to paltog.	He pointed a gun.
Inan kaneng-to tan to-kapan isilip paltog.	He was standing and pointing a gun.
E aanak inan ningis tan aná-ngan.	The boy was crying and eating.
Si Kuan aman axat tan amang ngisiu.	John is walking and whistling.
Aman tayab e payad.	The bird is flying.
Aman kukúchap e ulæg.	The snake is crawling.
Aman ngaikai e ikan.	The fish is swimming.
Aman búdu e asu.	The dog is barking.
Aman ngidigni e kabadyo.	The horse is neighing.
Aman ngigid (or *aman asel*) *e puxao.*	The eagle is screaming.
Aman ngakngak e bakbáxan.	The frog is croaking.
Aman biing e podiokan.	The bee is humming.
Na-ka aman asel.	I am talking.
Inan asel-ak.	I was talking.
Nanasel-ak.	I have talked.
Mangasel-ak asanem.	I will talk.

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Inan asel-ka nuntan.	You were talking.
Sikáto aman asel.	He is talking.
Si Kuan aman asel.	John is talking.
Na-ka aman ningis.[1]	I am crying.
Inan nangis-ak.	I was crying.
Nanningis-ak.	I have cried.
Mannangis-ak asanem.	I will cry.
Inan ningis-ka.	You were crying.
Sikáto aman nangis.	He is crying.
Aman nangis si Kuan.	John is crying.
Na-ka aman badeu.	I am singing.
Inan badeu-ak.	I was singing.
Nanbadeu-ak.	I have sung.
Manbadeu-ak asanem.	I will sing.
Inan badeu-ak.	You were singing.
Nanbadeu-ka.	You have sung.
Sikáto aman badeu.	He is singing.
Si Kuan aman badeu.	John is singing.
Si Kuan aman keldiau.	John is shouting.
Na-ka aman keldiau.	I am shouting.
Inan keldiau-ak.	I was shouting.
Nankeldiau-ak.	I have shouted.
Mangkeldiau-ak asanem.	I will shout.
Inan keldiau ka.	You were shouting.
Sikáto aman keldiau.	He is shouting.
Si Kuan aman keldiau.	John is shouting.
Na-ka aman tutúbo.	I am whispering.
Inan tutúbo-ak.	I was whispering.
Nantutúbo-ak.	I have whispered.
Mantutúbo-ak asanem.	I will whisper.
Inan tutúbo ka.	You were whispering.
Sikáto aman tutúbo.	He is whispering.
Si Kuan aman-tutúbo.	John is whispering.
Na-ka ama-ngingi.	I am laughing.
Inan ngingi-ak.	I was laughing.
Nanngingi-ak.	I have laughed.
Mangngingi-ak asanem.	I will laugh.
Inan ngingi-ka.	You were laughing.
Sikáto ama-ngingi.	He is laughing.
Si Kuan ama-ngingi.	John is laughing.
Na-ka ama-mangid-ak.	I am smiling.
Inan mangid-ak.	I was smiling.
Manmangid-ak asanem.	I will smile.
Inan mangid-ka.	You were smiling.
Sikáto ama-mangid.	He is smiling.
Si Kuan ama-mangid.	John is smiling.
Na-ka aman akad.	I am walking.
Inan akad-ak.	I was walking.
Nanaxach' ak.	I have walked.
Manakár-ak.	I will walk.
Anáxach'ak, or *anákar'ak.*	I am off.
Inan akad-ka.	You were walking.

[1] The root word is differently heard as *nangis* or *ningis*.

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Sikáto aman akad.	He is walking.
Si Kuan aman akad.	John is walking.
Aman aadunai e kulpot.	The cloud is drifting (slowly).
Aman bubtik e kulpot.	The cloud is flying (fast).
Si Kuan amang ngisiu.	John is whistling.
Si Kuan aman bubtik.	John is running.
Aman dátok si Kuan.	John is jumping.
Aman akad e kabadyo.	The horse is walking.
Aman bubtik e kabadyo.	The horse is running.
Manúchan niman.	It rains now.
Inan úran kachiman.	It rained yesterday.
Anúran kabuasan.	It will rain to-morrow.
Nem anúran niman adáui ag-ak-andao.	If it rains to-night I shall not go.
Aman-dánte niman.	It hails now.
Inan-dánte kachiman.	It hailed yesterday.
Mandánte kabuasan.	It will hail to-morrow.
Nem mandánte niman adáui ag-ak-andao.	If it hails to-night I shall not go.
Tagin niman.	It is cold now.
Tagin kachiman.	It was cold yesterday.
Antagin nem kabuasan.	It will be cold to-morrow.
Nem tagin kabuasan ag-ak-andao.	If it is cold to-morrow I shall not go.
Ampetáng niman.	It is warm now.
Ampetáng kachiman.	It was warm yesterday.
Ampetáng ammo[1] *nem kabuasan.*	It will be warm to-morrow.
Nem ampetáng kabuasan ag-ak-andao.	If it is warm to-morrow I shall not go.
Guarai chagœm chi amiánan.	The north wind blows.
Aman chagœm chi chaya niman.	The east wind is blowing.
Guarai chagœm chi dáut kachiman.	The west wind was blowing yesterday.
Guara ammo chagœm chi abagátan nem kabuasan.	The south wind will blow to-morrow.
Pigan inaxat-mo chi balei-mo?	When did you go home?
Aman mutok chi balei-to.	He is coming home.
Mimútok chi balei-to.	He came home.
Anmútok chi balei-to asanem.	He will come home.
Baibaiim anaxat chi balei-to.	Let him go home.
Impakéto-ak amangan.	He asked me to eat.
Tagualin-ko mangan-to.	I will ask him to eat.
Tinagual-ta-ka mangan.	I asked you to eat.
Tagualin-ta-ka asanem mangan.	I will ask you to eat.

REFLEXIVE FORMS

To strike one's self with the fist

	I am striking myself, etc.	I struck myself, etc.	I shall strike myself, etc.
I	na-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-ak	mang-kalbig-ak
You	ka-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-ka	mang-kalbig-ka
He	to-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-to, or, si-káto man-kalbig	mang-kalbig-to
We	kame ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig kame	mang-kalbig kame
You (plural)	kayo ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig kayo	mang-kalbig kayo
They	era ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig era	mang-kalbig era

[1] *Ammo* has the meaning of "probably:" *Ōn ammo*, Yes, it seems so.

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To strike each other with the fist

	You and I are striking each other with the fist	You and I struck each other with the fist	You and I will strike each other with the fist
Thou and I	sikam tan sikak, kita ka aman-kinálbig	sikam tan sikak, kita inan kinálbig	sikam tan sikak, mankinálbig kitá asanem
He and I	sikáto tan sikak, kame ka aman-kinálbig	sikáto tan sikak, kame inan kinálbig	sikáto tan sikak, mankinálbig kame asanem
Ye (dual)	sikayo'n chua, kayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kayo chua	mankinálbig kayo chua asanem
They (dual)	sikara'n chua era ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig era'n chua	mankinálbig era'n chua asanem
We (ye and I)	sikayo tan sikak, tayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig tayo	mankinálbig tayo asanem
We (they and I)	sikara tan sikak, kame ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kame	mankinálbig kame asanem
You	kayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kayo	inankinálbig kayo asanem
They	era ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig era	mankinálbig era asanem

VARIOUS VERBAL FORMS

To strike (used with varying intensity)

	John is striking James	John struck James	John will strike James
Said positively	si Kuan pankalbiga sun Kaime	si Kuan inankálbig-to sun Kaime	si Kuan kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem
Said doubtfully	si Kuan pankalbiga am mo[1] sun Kaime	si Kuan inankálbig-to ammo sun Kaime	si Kuan kálbigen-to ammo sun Kaime asanem
Statement made on hearsay	si Kuan konó[2] pankalbiga sun Kaime	si Kuan konó inankálbig-to sun Kaime	si Kuan konó kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem
James (while he is running)	si Kuan pankalbiga sun Kaime núnta amam bûbtik	si Kuan inankálbig-to sun Kaime nunta amam bûbtik	si Kuan kalbigen-to sun Kaime asanem núnta amam bûbtik

[1] *Ammo*, it seems.
[2] *Konó*, it is said; also, *kuancha*, they say (I., kanó, an impersonal passive verb, meaning "it is said").

Negative and imperative forms; permission

Si Kuan ag-to inankálbig sun Kaime.	John did not strike James.
Kuan, mo-kálbig sun Kaime.	John, strike James (commanding).
Kuan, mo-ga-kálbig sun Kaime.[1]	John, strike James (beseeching).
Si Kuan mabandin-to kalbigen sun Kaime.[2]	John may strike James (giving permission).

[1] The beseeching sense I here attribute to the infix *ga* is only inferred from its colloquial use, but I have no absolute certainty of it.
[2] *Mábddin* may, can (I., mabalin).

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Forms expressing desire, duty; also frequentative and causative forms[1]

Si Kuan pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.	John desires to strike James.
Si Kuan pinian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.	John desired to strike James.
Si Kuan sigucho pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.	John will desire to strike James.
Si Kuan sigœd nem pankalbigen-to sun Kaime.	John ought to be striking James.
Si Kuan sigœd nem mankalbig-to sun Kaime kabuasan.	John ought to strike James to-morrow.
Si Kuan sigœd nem kinalbig-to sun Kaime kachiman.	John ought to have struck James yesterday.
Si Kuan to-ka-pan-kalbigen úlai sun Kaime.	John is frequently striking James.
Si Kuan inan kalbig-to ni úlai sun Kaime.	John frequently struck James.
Si Kuan kalbigen-to ni úlai sun Kaime asanem.	John will frequently strike James.
Si Kuan e makapuan sai kalbigen nan Kaime.	John is causing James to strike.
Si Kuan inakpuan-to sai kalbigen nan Kaime.	John caused James to strike.
Si Kuan makpuan asanem sai kalbigen nan Kaime.	John will cause James to strike.
Si Kaime pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.	James desires to kick John.
Si Kaime pinian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.	James desired to kick John.
Si Kaime sigucho pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.	James will desire to kick John.
Si Kaime sigœd nem mansikdiat-to sun Kuan.	James ought to be kicking John.
Si Kaime sigœd nem isikdiat-to sun Kuan kabuasan.	James ought to kick John to-morrow.
Si Kaime sigœd nem insikdiat-to sun Kuan kachiman.	James ought to have kicked John yesterday.
Si Kaime to-ka-pan isikdiat ni úlai sun Kuan.	James is frequently striking John.
Si Kaime inan isikdiat-to ni úlai sun Kuan.	James frequently struck John.
Si Kaime isikdiat-to ni úlai sun Kuan.	James will frequently strike John.
Si Kaime e makapuan sai isikdiat nan Kuan.	James is causing John to strike.
Si Kaime inakpuan-to sai isikdiat nan Kuan.	James caused John to strike.
Si Kaime makpuan asanem sai isikdiat nan Kuan.	James will cause John to strike.
Sikak e makapuan dya sikáto ikaspig saxei a bató.	I cause him to throw a stone.
Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a bató kachiman.	I caused him to throw a stone yesterday.

[1] Among these sentences there are some which, while grammatically correct, would sound strange to Igorot ears. I could and would have translated the English text more freely, but have preferred to introduce a certain stiffness rather than lose sight of what to me appeared the real object of these examples, namely, to afford a comparative insight into the skeleton of the Igorot language. The same remark applies to many other sentences given as illustrations.

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Sikak makpuan asanem dya ikaspig-to saxei a bató kabuasan.	I will cause him to throw a stone to-morrow.
Makpuan-ak dya isúman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan niman.	I cause him to put his hat on the table now.
Inakpuan-ak dya isuman-to kadúbong-to chi damisáan kachiman.	I caused him to put his hat on the table yesterday.
Makpúan-ak dya isuman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan nem kabuasan.	I will cause him to put his hat on the table to-morrow.
Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa niman.	I cause him to throw a club now.
Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa kachiman.	I caused him to throw a club yesterday.
Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to saxei a pápa kabuasan.	I will cause him to throw a club to-morrow.
Páknan-ko sun sikáto níman.	I cause him to eat now (as meaning I give him to eat now).
Pinakán-ko sun sikáto kachiman.	I caused him to eat yesterday (as meaning I gave him to eat).
Páknan-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.	I will cause him to eat to-morrow (as meaning I will give him to eat).
Panínom-ko sun sikáto niman.	I cause him to drink now.
Inpanínom-ko sun sikáto kachiman.	I caused him to drink yesterday.
Panínom-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.	I will cause him to drink to-morrow.

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF THE COMBINATION OF ROOTS AND PARTICLES[1]

Root, *Apui*, FIRE

Man-apui	To be one who makes fire, *manapui-ka.* Imperative: "Make fire" (also "boil rice"). *Sepai e manapui?* "Who is the one that makes fire (that boils rice)?"	*Na-ka aman apui* *Nan apui-ak* *Manapui-ak*
Mam-pa-apui	To be one who orders fire to be made; *mam-paapui-ka.* Imperative: "Be the person who orders fire to be made;" "get fire made."	*Na-ka aman paapui* *Nan paapui-ak* *Mampaapui-ak*
I-apui	To be the thing to which fire is applied; *iapui-mo iai a bagás* (pronounced *bekás*). Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing to which you apply fire;" "boil this rice;" *iapui* generally has the sense of "to boil rice;" *inapui*=boiled rice, like English toast=toasted bread.	*Na-ka pan-iapui* *Inapui-ko* *Iapui-ko*
Pa-i-apui	To be the thing which is ordered to be boiled, *paiapui-mo iai a bagás.* Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing which you order to be boiled;" "get this rice boiled."	*Na-ka paiapui* *Imapaiapui-ko* *Paiapui-ko*
Apui-an	To be the fireplace.	*Na-ka panapuia* *Inapuian-ko* *Apuian-ko*
Pan-apui-an	To be the place used for making fire; also to be the pot used for boiling. (Compare under "Roots and particles.")	*Na-ka panapuian* *Pinanapuian-ko* *Panapuian-ko*

[1] In the last column I give the three tenses in the first person singular.

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Root, *Sudat*, THE WRITING

Man-sudat	To be the writer: *Sepai e mansudat niai?* "Who is the writer of this?"	*Na-ka aman sudat* *Nansudat-ak* *Mansudat-ak*
Mam-pa-sudat	To be one who orders another to write; *mampasudat-ka.* Imperative: "Order someone to write."	*Na-ka aman pasudat* *Nanpasudat-ak* *Mampasudat-ak*
I-sudat	To be the thing written down (or written about); *isudat-mo iai a bidin.* Imperative: "Write down this order."	*Na-ka pan isudat* *Insudat-ko* *Isudat-ko*
Pa-i-sudat	To be the thing about which to write an order is given; *paisudat-mo suta bidin.* Imperative: "Have that order written down."	*Na-ka paisudat* *Impaisudat-ko* *Paisudat-ko*

Root, *Datok*, LEAP

Man-datok	To be one who leaps; *mandatok-ka!* Imperative: "Leap!"	*Na-ka aman datok* *Nandatok-ak* *Mandatok-ak*
Pa-datok	To be that which is made, caused, or ordered to leap; *padatok-mo e kabadyo.* Imperative: "Let the horse be that which you cause to leap;" "start the horse (over this creek)."	*Na-ka padatok* *Pinadatok-ko* *Padatok-ko*
Mam-pa-datok	To be one who causes or orders the leaping: *Sepai e mampadatok ne kabadyo?* "Who is it that causes the horse to jump?" "Who starts the horse (over the creek)?"	*Na-ka aman padatok* *Nanpadatok-ak* *Mampadatok-ak*
I-datok	To be the object in relation to which the leaping is done; *idatok-mo iai a aanak.* Imperative: "Take this child in your arms and leap with it (over this creek)."	*Na-ka pan idatok* *Indatok-ko* *Idatok-ko*
Pa-i-datok	To be the object in relation to which the leaping is ordered to be done; *paidatok-mo iai a aanak.* Imperative: "Have this child taken in arms by some person and let that person leap with it (over this creek)."	*Na-ka paidatok* *Impaidatok-ko* *Paidatok-ko*

Root, *Sisked*, WAIT

Man-sisked	To be one who waits; *mansisked-ka!* Imperative: "Wait!"	*Na-ka aman sisked* *Nansisked-ak* *Mansisked-ak*
Mam-pa-sked	To be one who orders to wait; *mampasked-ka ne podigtas!* Imperative: "Order the 'polistas'[1] to wait."	*Na-ka aman pasked* *Nanpasked-ak* *Mampasked-ak*
Pa-sked	To be that which is ordered, caused to wait; *pasked-mo sun sikáto.* Imperative: "Tell him to wait."	*Na-ka pasked* *Pinasked-ko* *Pasked-ko*
I-sisked	To be the object of the process of waiting in a transitive sense; *isisked-mo kabadyok.* Imperative: "Keep my horse waiting (at the door against my arrival)." *Isisked* is not used in connection with a person as object, since it would mean that such person were to be bodily laid hold of and so kept waiting.	*Na-ka pan isisked* *Insisked-ko* *Isisked-ko*

[1] Polistas, forced laborers under Spanish rule.

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Siśker-en	To be that which is awaited; *amak e siśkeren-ko.* "I await my father."	*Na-ka pansiśkera* *Sinisked-ko* *Siśkeren-ko*

Root, *Sibog*, IRRIGATION

Man-ibog	To be one who irrigates; *sepai e mani bog?* "Who is going to irrigate?"	*Na-ka aman-ibog* *Anibog-ak* *Manibog-ak*
Mam-pa-sibog	To be one who orders the irrigation; *mampa-sibog-ka sun sikara.* Imperative: "Tell them to irrigate."	*Na-ka aman pasibog* *Nanpasibog-ak* *Mampasibog-ak*
Sibog-an	To be the object of irrigation; *sibogan-mo e chifoldyo.* Imperative: "Water the cabbages" (Sp., repollo).	*Na-ka pan siboga* *Sinibogan-ko* *Sibogan-ko*
I-sibog	To be the thing with which the operation of irrigating is executed; *ag-mo iibuŋ suta chanum; isibog-mo.* "Don't throw that water away; use it for watering."	*Na-ka panisibog* *Insibog-ko* *Isibog-ko*

Root, *Kaldiau*, SHOUT

Man-kaldiau	To be one who shouts.	*Na-ka aman kaldiau* *Nankaldiau-ak* *Mankaldiau-ak*
Kaldiau-an	To be one who is shouted for; *kaldiauan-mo sun sikáto.* "Shout for him."	*Na-ka pan kaldiaua* *Kinaldiauan-ko* *Kaldiauan-ko*
I-kaldiau	To be the object that gives cause for shouting. For instance, if a messenger departs forgetting the letter he is to carry, I would say to someone near me: *Ikaldiau-mo e sudat.* "Call him back by shouts to take the letter," or, more literally, "Let the letter be thy motive for shouting."	*Na-ka pan ikaldiau* *Inkaldiau-ko* *Ikaldiau-ko*

Root, *Nemnem* (*Numnum*) MIND, THOUGHT

Man-nemnem	To be one who thinks; *mannemnem-ka.* Imperative: "Reflect, consider."	*Na-ka ama nemnem* *Nannemnem-ak* *Mannemnem-ak*
Nemnem-an	To be the object of thinking; *ngaramto mo-ka-pan nemnema?* "Of what are you thinking?"	*Na-ka pan nemnema* *Innemnem-ak* *Nemneman-ko*
I-nemnem	To be the thing of which one is mindful; *inemnem-mo suta inkuan-ko.* "Be mindful of what I have said."	*Na-ka pan innemnem* *Ninemnem-ko* *Inemnem-ko*

"TO BE" AND "TO HAVE"

To be present, to be extant, to find one's self

Guara-ak	I am	*Guara kame*	We are
Guara-ka	Thou art	*Guara kayo*	You are
Guara-to	He is	*Guara era*	They are

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Twai balei-mo?	Where is your house? Where do you live?
Guara e balei-ko chi Bagio.	My house is in Baguio. I live in Baguio.
Guara e atak-mo?	Have you got your cleaver with you?
Guara.	I have.
Guara chanum?	Is there water?
Anchi chanum.	There is no water.
Guara's amam chi balei?	Is your father in the house?
Guara.	He is.
Suta gadyem-mo guara chiai nuntan.	Your friend was here some time ago.
Nem guara-ak chi Manida mansudat-ak.	If I shall be in Manila I will write.

To have, to possess

Guara anan-ak (guaranak)	I have	*Guara anan kame*	We have
Guara anan-ka	Thou hast	*Guara anan kayo*	You have
Guara anan-to	He has	*Guara anan era*	They have

Guara anan-ak ne saxei a ama.	I have a father.
Guara anan-ka ne chua'n dima.	Thou hast two hands.
Guara anan era ne achaxœl baka.	They have many cows.
Guara anan tayo ne kabadyo.	We (you and I) have horses.
Guara anan kame ne oma.	We (he and I, or they and I) have fields.
Guara anan-ak ne saxei a balei, chi Bagio nuntan.	I had formerly a house at Baguio.
Guara anan-to ne saxei a balei, chi Bagio suta taóen alé.	He will have a house at Baguio next year.
Guara anan-ka ne saxei a asu?	Hast thou a dog?
Anchi anan-ak ne asu.	I have no dog.

Further examples of the rendering of the English copula "to be"[1]

Kadubong-ko iai.	This is my hat.
Oman iai.	This is thy field.
Balei-to iman.	That is his house.
Asu ni Kuan iai.	This is John's dog.
Kabadyok iman.	Those are my horses.
Sikáto daxi.	He is a man.
Sikáto daxi nuntan.	He was a man.
Daxi ammo asanem.	He will be a man.
Guasai sutan.	It is an ax.
Sikáto e amak nuntan.	He was my father.
Sikáto e inam nuntan.	She was your mother.
Ama-to's Kuan (or *ámato si Kuan*).	John is his father.
Agi-to's Kaime.	James is his brother.
Agi-to's Maria.	Mary is his sister.

[1] Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

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Aságoak si Maria nem asanem.	Mary will be my wife.
Aságoak si Kuan nem asanem.	John will be my husband.
Matákal alé.	He is a brave man.
Aragui alé?	Is it far?

INTERJECTIONS

Ārā! *Āsĕ!* *Ăi ărā!*	Surprise or astonishment either with admiration or with disappointment.
Ădō! *Ădā!* *Ai-aiyō!* *Ai-dădădădă!*	Astonishment with disapproval or regret.
Tē-tē! *Ă-tē!* *Te-oh!* *Tététété!*	Encouragement; also urging a request.

ON THE TRAIL TO BENGUET

[A conversation with Igorot carriers.]

Oi! tokala!	I say! Just come here!
Twai balei-mo?	Where is your home?
Ibingnget-ak.	I am from Benguet.
Pian-mo manuyon sun sikak?	Will you be a carrier for me?
Ikak pian (agak pian) tap inabdé-ak; tap guara da uyon ko.	I do not want to because I am tired; because I have already a load.
Ngaramto udyon-mo?	What is your load?
Guara udyon-ko'n asin ne baknang-ko.	I have a load of salt for my headman.
Anchi kadguam?	Have you no companions?
Guara.	I have.
Papiga kayo?	How many are you?
Annem kame.	We are six.
Mango suta kadguam, guara ngo uyon cha?	Well, then, and those companions—have they loads too?
Taguei era.	I don't know about them.
Tagual-mo kadguam.	Call your companions.
Taguei e kaanan cha.	I do not know their whereabouts.
Twai okípan-dyo chiai (or *twai dyo-ka okífa diai)?*	Where is your sleeping place here?
Chi balei ni Capitan N.	In the house of Capitan N.
A-té, andao kita, manudup-ka.	Come along; let us go; be my companion.
Kapangdu-ka, ipangdum e chalan.	Go in front and lead the way.
Oi! pian-dyo manuyon sun sikak?	Look here! Will you be my carriers?
Anchikchal kame.	We do not want to.
Sepai e kapisildia (Sp., cabecilla) *dyo?*	Who of you is the leader?
Iman.	That one over there.

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Sepai ngaram-to?	What is his name?[1]
Si Madiano e ngaram-to.	Mariano is his name.
Ngantoi ag-dyo-pian manuyon sun sikak?	Why will you not carry for me?
Guara uyunan-me e asin.	We have to carry salt.
Anken taddo kayo bingad.	Even three of you only (would do for me).
Baichan-ta kadio'n mapteng.	I will pay you well.
Piga?	How much?
Angken mamisus kayo.	(I would not mind) even one peso for each of you.
Kulang.[2]	That is insufficient.
Ngaram-to e kalkam (Sp., carga)?	What kind of loads have you?
Guara saxei a ixamen na inaikalot tan saxei a kaon (Sp., cajon) *dya chadgua e anuyon so.*	There is a bundle tied up in a mat and a box which must be carried by two.
Ara! Mandikat e chalan tan abadeg e chanum chi Nagildiang.	Bless me! The road is very difficult and the water at Nagiliang fearfully high [a river ford on the trail].
Suta anuyon ne kaon achumanko e dagbo cha ne bintin.	For those who carry the box I will increase the pay by 25 cents, Mexican.
A-té! Ipaasas-ko e kalka; té! manudup.	Come, I'll show you the loads; make haste and come along.
Panumkal kayo ne chuan kalusod panguyon ne kaon.	Get two sticks bought to serve for carrying the box.
Pigan e iaxad mo?	What time will be your departure?
Niman.	Now, at once.
Kabuasan palbangun.	To-morrow, early.
Ampetang e chalan niman.	The road is too hot now.
Ag kame angan.	We have not yet eaten.
Anokip kame chi Sabdan.	We shall sleep in Sablan.
Panixadut dyo iai.	Tie this together.
Twai chagim.	Where is your *chagi* (a sort of carrying rack)?
Asé! anbulat!	Lord! but that is heavy!
Aligua'n ambulat; angkádias.	It is not heavy at all; it is quite light.
Ag-mabadín.	It is impossible.
Mabadín.	It is possible.
Anchi balon-me.	We have no provisions for the road.
Sikak e magamta.	I will look out for that.
Iai a alintarós (Sp., treintados cuartos) *itumkaldyo ne kanin-dyo.*	For these 20 cents, Mexican, you may buy your food.
Até-o! na akou!	Get up! It is daylight!
Mangan tayo chi chalan (or *chalan e panganan tayo*).	We shall eat on the road.
Twai chalan?	Which is the road?

[1] As many Ibalois dislike to pronounce their own names, it is expedient to ask a man's name from bystanders.

[2] An Igorot would never forgive himself for having accepted even the most advantageous terms without first protesting against their utter insufficiency with the time-sacred word *kulang*, pronounced with a mien of offended candor. The bargain once struck is, however, the more faithfully kept by him the less civilized he is.

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Anchi dinibkan-dyo?	Have you forgotten nothing?
Padok e panchalchingan tayo.	We shall make the river our resting place.
Ngaran niai.	What is this called?
Sadiai e kuan-me . . .	This we call . . .
Akniim nin iai.	Just take hold of this.
Ag-ka-nin.	Wait a moment.
Isapám e uyon-mo.	Put your load down.
Dakbáoim iai.	Open this (by lifting the lid).
Ukasim iai.	Untie this.
Ikadot-mo múan.	Bundle it up again.
Twai kanin-ko?	Where is my provendér?
Inakas ammo chi chalan.	It seems to have fallen down on the road.
Guara sun sikáto.	He has got it.
Aneng e achum.	The others are not yet here.
Inai-arágui e kaet-me.	Our companions are a long way off.
Aragui nin ale?	Is it still far?
Aragui ne ootik.	It is not very far.
Anchi chanum? Pian-ko aninom.	Is there no water? I want to drink.
Guará ammo'd daspag.	There seems to be some below.
Kagadi pangala ne chanum.	Be so kind as to have some water brought.
Inabdé kame, mansalching kita.	We are tired; let us rest.
Pabaanes-mo-ak ne atak.	Lend me your knife.[1]
Aknim-ak ne dukto.	Give me a sweet potato.
Twai kurábis?	Where are the matches?
Guara balei a okipan?	Is there a house to sleep in?
Guarai abong bengat.	There is only a hut.
Manapui-ka sai mandutu.	Light a fire for cooking.
Manumkal-ka ne saxei a manok.	Buy a chicken.
Ikuan mo'n andao ale.	Tell him to come here.
Kal'dyo amin.	Come here all of you.
Painom-mo e kabadyo.	Water the horse.
Ipastol-mo e kabadyo.	Put the horse in the pasture.
Atngim-mo sun sikáto.	Help him.

WRITING AND POPULAR SONGS

It is doubtful if the Ibaloi Igorot ever had a system of writing. No trace of any is nowadays to be found among them. There are handed down to us the characters of the neighboring Ilocano and Pangasinan which these tribes, like others of the lowlands, abandoned, together with their customs and religious beliefs, after the arrival of the Spaniards, whose culture they have ever since striven to adopt in a progressive spirit. The Igorot tribes are, however, distinct from the former inasmuch as they are older arrivals on Philippine soil and have

[1] The knife, after being used, would be handed back silently, no equivalent for "thank you" being in use. On rare occasions *siged, agik* = "well done, my brother"—or a like expression is heard.

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retained their national or tribal peculiarities. They either did not bring the art of writing with them or they forgot it—perhaps with other manifestations of a former higher culture—because of the physical hardships they had to undergo when pushed by subsequent Malayan invaders into the inhospitable mountain fastnesses of the interior.

For what it may be worth I reproduce here as accurately as possible the sample of ancient writing given by Sinibaldo de Mas in his Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (Madrid, 1843).

FIG. 1.—An unidentified inscription engraved on a board and found in the mountains inhabited by Igorot people in 1837 by a military expedition. (Same size as given by Sinibaldo de Mas; size of original is not known.)

On this he observes: "To this class of alphabets (Ilokano, Batangas, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Tondo) seems to belong the inscription (see fig. 1) engraved on a board that was found in 1837 by a military expedition in the mountains inhabited by the savages called Igorrotes." While unable to improve on this dubious discovery, I am glad to be able to give two bits of Igorot singing and thereby to contribute a trifle to the preservation of genuine Filipino music.

The Ibaloi is, in a way, rather fond of singing. Wandering through his silent woods he will unburden his heart by singing some low, melodious strain, the plaintive sound of which reveals the melancholy underlying the Malayan character. Again, at some festival, sitting with others around the fire, he will, in less harmonious tones and between frequent sips of rice wine, chant incidents of his family life to his assembled relatives and friends, who at intervals chime in in chorus until another, being alluded to, takes up the song in like manner. Many a time, as a guest on such occasions, have I laid myself down to sleep on some deerskin only to find the next morning the same party still droning out their confidential communications, though rather the worse for a night during which the cocoanut shell with rice wine had been kept constantly going around.

With this habit it is not to be wondered at that particularly stirring incidents of Igorot life should become the common property of young and old and, clad in more harmonious form, survive as popular ballads. The best known of these is one in which a young girl relates the cruel treatment suffered at the hands of her stepmother; her furtive flight to Kaiapa, a district adjoining Benguet, where she becomes the wife of a Spanish officer; her subsequent good fortune, and refusal ever to return to her home.

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Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXX. IBALOI WOMEN RICE CARRIERS RESTING ON THE TRAIL.

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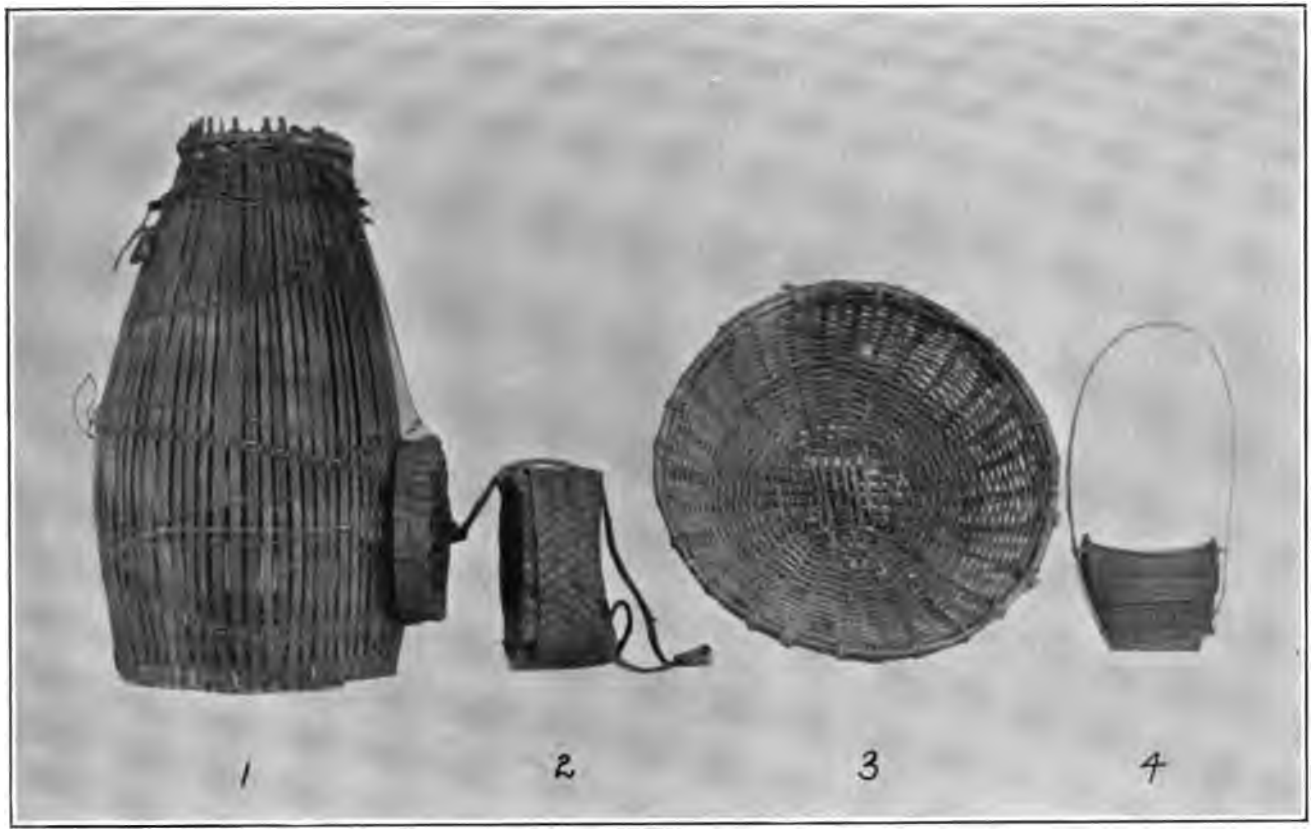

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PLATE LXXXI. IBALOI BASKET WORK.

(1, *ba-tét*, for containing locusts; 2, *u-fá-kan*, for carrying food to work; 3, *sa-lu-chan*, house basket for camotes; 4, *pal-teng*, Ibaloi "pocket," carried suspended from shoulder.)

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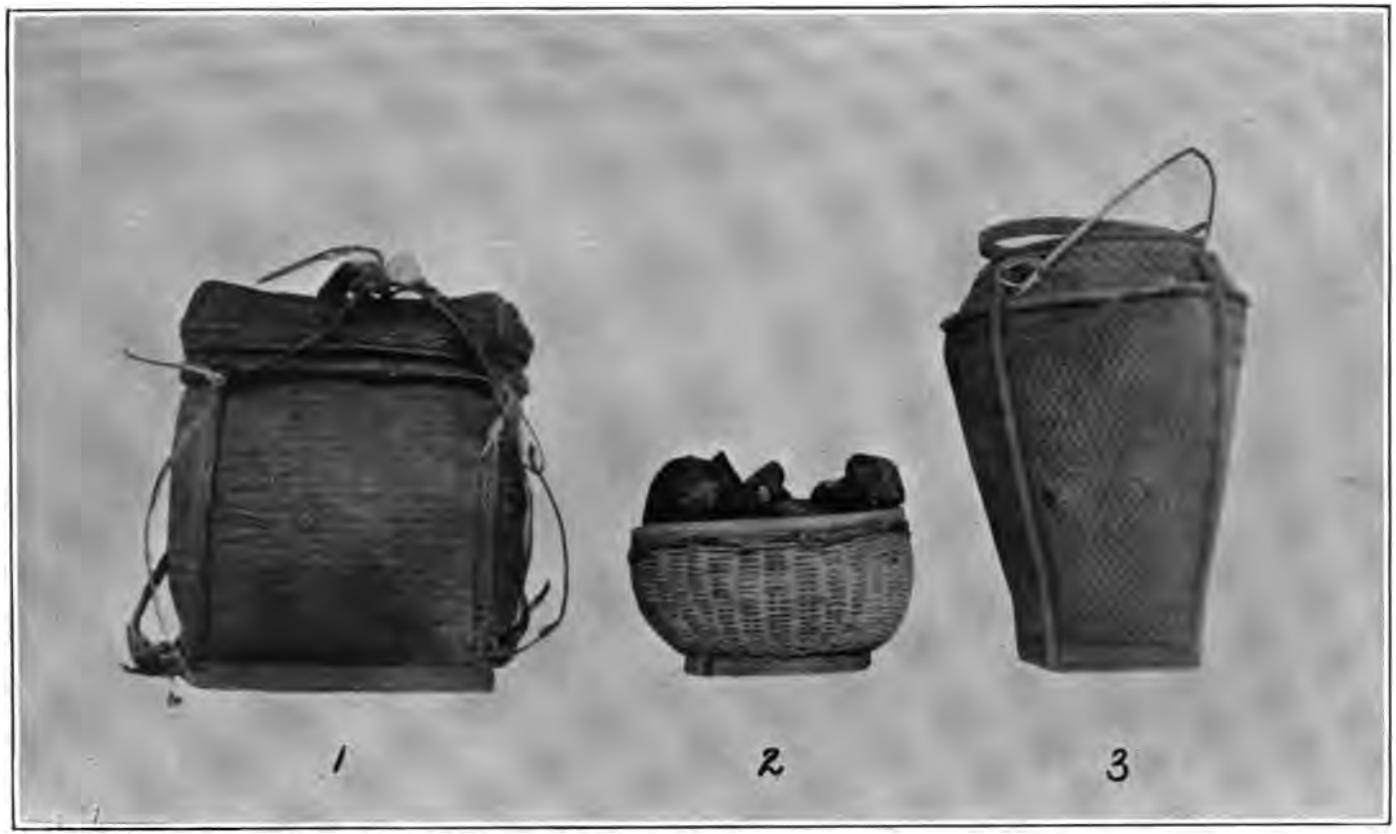

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PLATE LXXXII. IBALOI BASKETS.

(1, *pa-si-king*, general receptacle, carried on back, slung over shoulders; 2, *sa-kób*, for boiled camotes; *tad-tad*, for storing rice or beans.)

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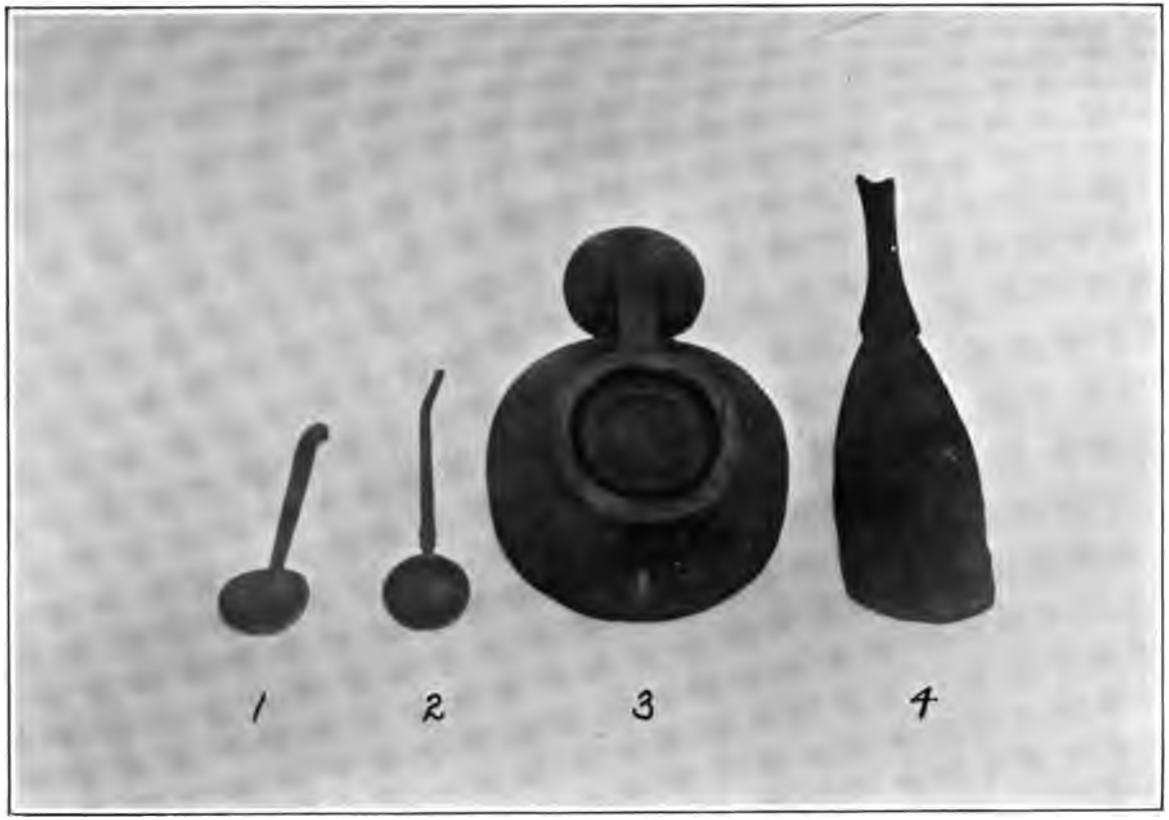

Photo by Worcester. PLATE LXXXIII. IBALOI WOODEN HOUSE UTENSILS.

(1 and 2, *sak-dung*, cooking spoons; 3, *chu-yo*, double food bowl, bottom view; 4, *sud-sud*, ladle for stirring rice wine.)

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PLATE LXXXIV. IBALOI IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

(1, *pá-kong*, bamboo vibrating musical instrument, played by woman by being struck on base of palm; 2, *sang-kap*, iron blade of implement for digging camotes; 3, *a-tip*, knife sheath; 4, *a-tok*, man's large knife; 5, *bu-ri-a-ki*, girdle of carved shells, rare and expensive, usually worn as pendant from belt; 6, *cham-pak*, man's working adz; 7, *gua-sai*, man's working ax, same implement as 6, blade being interchangeable; 8, *ka-du-dong*, man's rattan hat.)

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PLATE LXXXV. IBALOI MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

(1 and 2, *sulibao* and *kimbol*, hollow wooden drums with skin head over large end; 3 and 4, *kalsa* and *pinsak*, bronze gongs.)

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The beginning of the song is the following, the tune and the peculiar repetition of each new phrase remaining the same all through to the end:

Violin moderato
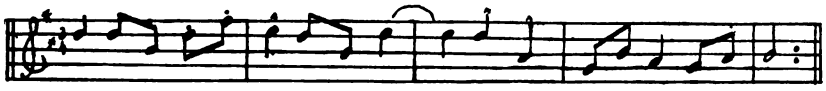
FIG. 2.—First line of a popular Ibaloi song.

Andao-ak chi Kaiapa, andao-ak chi Kaiapa
I go to Kaiapa, to Kaiapa I go
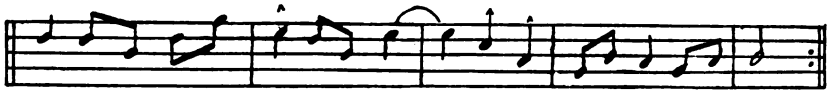
FIG. 3.—Second line of a popular Ibaloi song. (Same song as in fig. 2.)

Paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa, paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa
I take the road to Santa Rosa, to Santa Rosa the road I take

The following is a fragment of another ballad sung to the same ever rising and falling melody and with the same repetition of each line:

Ka-linas Ka-gang Bulan!
Thou brighten, I pray thee, Oh, moon!

Manalung ak nem kabuasan
Shall go down hill I when to-morrow

Nak manumkal ne pungan Ipungan nan asagoak
I shall be buyer of a pillow to serve as pillow of my wife

Ananak nem buasto
(Who) is to bear child when the day after to-morrow

Inaspol ko 's kapitan Anakbat ne kampilan
Have met I the headman shouldering the kampilan (saber)

Imbagan to twai daguan ko
Asked he where place of going mine

Inkuan ko, manalung ak chi Idoko
Said I, shall go down I to Ilokos

Kompolin to konó e toktok ko
Shall cut off he, said he, the head mine (etc.)

Another melody I have heard sung, once to a frivolous text and again with an extremely mournful cadence, as a sort of funeral hymn in which the friends of the deceased are invited to strike in his honor

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the instruments[1] that serve the Igorot for beating time to their dances. I give the few notes[2] of which it consists with the latter text:

Sulibao, sulibao dyo!

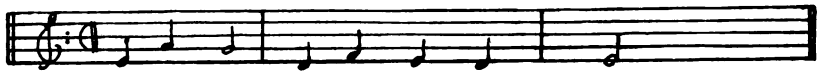

FIG. 4.—First line of an Ibaloi melody.

Kimbal, kimbal dyo!

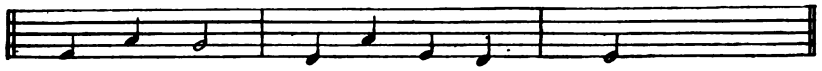

FIG. 5.—Second line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in fig. 4.)

Kalsa, kalsa dyo! (etc.)
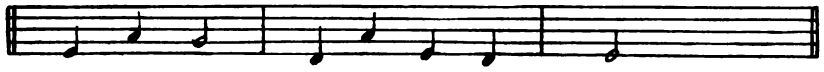
FIG. 6.—Third line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in figs. 4 and 5.)

The following is a rhyme for children, more recited than sung, a series of single words strung together, so to say, by the repetition before a following word of a part or the whole of the preceding one and by a methodical change of the accent which produces the rhythm. The words, mostly uncommon ones, I could not completely translate or get translated; the sense seems to be rather incoherent:

Bagbagtó ---- Bagbagtólambik	Tanabú ----- Tanabúgaai
Tolambíg---- Tolambáwixan	Bugaái ------ Bugaálagpai
Bawixán ---- Bawikálanai	Alagpái ----- Alagpaipáiyaau
Kalanái ----- Kalanainápunai	Paiyaáu ----- Paiyaauátimbau
Napunái----- Napunaidíagta	Atimbáu ---- Atimbaubáiangau
Diagtá ------ Diagtánabu	[Etc.] [Etc.]

[1] The chief ones are the *sulibao* and the *kimbal*, two cannon-shaped wooden drums of about equal size but beaten differently, each by one man; the first, a little sharper in tone, receives with the inner side of the outstretched united four fingers of both hands a continuous, quick succession of double slaps, both slaps being short but sounding ones, to be represented approximately thus: Ríght-lĕft, right-lĕft, right-lĕft, ríght-lĕft. The *kimbal* is struck in the same manner but with the difference that only the right-hand slap, simultaneous with the right-hand slap of the *sulibao* player, resounds, while the left-hand stroke is applied so as to cut short at once and stifle the vibrations. The bass accompaniment furnished by the *kimbal* to the *sulibao* has therefore the following monotonous sound: Right', right', right', right'.

The hollow "tŭb-tub, tŭb-tub" produced by both deep-mouthed instruments can be heard for a distance of 8, 10, or more miles along the valley. Together with them are played two gongs, one called *kalsa*, the other *pinsak*. They closely resemble brass pans, and are held up with the left hand and struck with a wooden peg in the right. Their "tinkle-tinkle" is rather discordant with the heavy sound of the drums. The clacking of two iron batons, called *palás*, struck one against the other, completes the tattoo.

[2] For this as for the preceding bit of music I am indebted to Mr. C. Carballo, graduate of the Nautical School, Manila, who took it down after my singing.

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NABALOI VOCABULARY[1]

[Arranged by subjects, etc.]

Persons

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Man	dá-xi	Twins	si-ping; a-nu-nú-a
Woman	bi-i; a-ko'-dau (P., akulao)	Married man or woman	in-a-sá-goa
Person	to-o	Widower or widow	bá-lo
Old man	a-si-xen	Bachelor (old) or maid (old)	ba-lá-sang; an-chi-a-sá-goa[2]
Old woman	a-bá-kol	The old people	su-ta a-teng
Young man	ba-lo da-xi	The young people	su-ta ba-lá-sang
Young woman	ma-ri-xit	A great talker	sa-xei a ma-nút-nut
Virgin	ma-ri-xit; ba-lá-sang	A silent person	sa-xei a ka-ka-a-ká-kad
Boy or girl	a-á-nak		
Infant	ngák-nga	Thief	na-xi-bót
Male infant	ngák-nga da-xi	Hermaphrodite	bi-na-ba-e
Female infant	ngák-nga bi-i		

[1] In this vocabulary syllables have been separated by hyphens for the sake of clearness in spelling; the nasal *ng* in the middle of a word must be pronounced as connecting two syllables.
[2] *Si-seken* is "old man" in all barrios of Itogon, Benguet; in Itogon proper and vicinity, *chi-pil*.

Parts of the human body

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Head	tok-tok	Chin	ti-mid
Hair	bu-œg	Neck	buk-dou[1]
Crown of the head	a-di-tú-kan	Adam's apple	ta-din-nan
Scalp	ba-dat ni tok-tok	Goiter	bis-kel
Face	dú-pa	Body	áng-œl
Forehead	ta-mók	Shoulder	a-wa-da
Eye, pupil of the eye	ma-ta	Shoulder blade	ta-xeb
Eyelash	pas-pas	Back	bun-neg
Eyebrow	ka-chei	Breast of a man or of a woman (mamma)	su-su
Upper eyelid or lower eyelid	pa-lo-mai-at	Nipples	dup-dúp-an
Ear lobe	ta-bing-an	Hip	li-pat
Ear	tang-i-da	Belly	a-kis
Perforation in ear	nad-bœng	Navel	pu-sœg
External opening of the ear	ku-li-ding	Arm	tak-dai
		Right[2] arm	tak-dai-au-a-nán
Nose and ridge of nose	a-deng	Left arm	tak-dai i-gid
Nostril	du-u-ngi-san	Armpits	dyai-yœg
Cheek	tam-il	Elbow	si-xo
Beard	i-ming	Right elbow	si-xo au-a-nán
Mouth	bung-ot	Left elbow	si-xo i-gid
Upper lip, lower lip	su-bil	Wrist	yag-yang-ó-an
Tooth	sang-i	Right wrist	yag-yang-ó-an au-a-nán
Tongue	chi-la		
Saliva	tup-cha	Left wrist	yag-yang-ó-an i-gid
Palate	ka-lang-á-han	Hand	dima
Throat	ta-din-nan	Right hand	di-ma au-a-nán

[1] *Bek-leo*. [2] See under "The noun," right, left, both.

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Parts of the human body—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Left hand	di-ma i-gid	Heel	ku-mot
Palm of hand	cha-lú-kap	Toe	ka-lu-mot
Back of hand	bun-nœg ni chalukap	Large toe	pa-nga-ngá-an ni sa-di
Fingers	ka-lu-mot	Fifth or small toe	ki-ging ni sa-di
Thumb	pa-nga-ngá-an	Toe nail	ko-xo ni sa-di
First finger	pa-tu-rú-an	Blood	chá-la
Second finger	pa-kau-á-an	Vein or artery	u-lat
Small finger	ki-ging	Brain	u-tœk
Finger nail	ko-xo	Bladder	bi-rung
Knuckle	bu-xo ni ka-lu-mot	Gall	áp-ko
Space between knuckles	sas-sa ni ka-lu-mot	Heart	pú-so
		Kidney	ba-tin
Rump	u-bed	Liver	al-tei
Leg	sa-di	Stomach	bi-tu-ka
Thigh	úl-po	Rib	tag-dang
Knee	pu-eg	Vertebra, spine	pa-lik
Kneepan	ka-ui-ká-uil	Footprint	ká-tin
Leg below knee, calf of the leg	da-da-long	Skin	ba-dát
		Bone	pú-xil
Ankle, ankle bone	tik-ding	Intestines	su-súl
Foot	cha-pan		

Clothing and ornaments

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Turban	pan-diet	Belt	ba-li-kes
Hat	ka-dú-bong	Jacket for women	sa-dei
Cap	ok-dop	Petticoat (short)	dí-wit
Waterproof	ka-la-piáu; bang-áu[1] téch-ong[2]	Necklace	un-no
		Earring, finger ring	ta-wing
Breechcloth	kó-bal	Arm ring	ka-ring
Cloak	ka-táp; ú-lœs	Knee ring (leg band between knee and calf)	ba-nei
Jacket, shirt	bá-ro		
Pantaloons, short pants	kal-son (Sp.)	Tattooing	ba-tœk

[1] Grass or palm-leaf cover for men. [2] Wickerwork cover for women.

The house and field

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Village	bá-lei[1]	Bed	chu-kú-lan
Dwelling (permanent)	bá-lei; a-búng (small hut)	Pillow	pú-ngan
		Floor	cha-á-tal
Doorway	u-sok-an; di-teb	Ceiling	tá-lib
Fire	a-pui	Wall	chin-ching
Firewood	ki-u	Post	tad-mœg
Blaze	a-pui	Joist	chi-sal
A light	si-lau	Opening for window	ta-wa
Living coals	nga-lab	Stairway	ag-chan
Dead coals	u-ling	Ladder	tei-tei

[1] It seems as if the Igorot, from their custom of living dispersedly, lack a proper word for "village." They know, of course the Ilocano word for pueblo, "ili," but use it mostly in reference to Christian settlements.

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The house and field—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Ashes	de-pok	A stone	ba-to
Smoke	a-sok	Road	cha-lan
Soot	da-gid	Field adjoining the house	bá-ang
A seat	tung-aú-an		
Chair	pa-lang-ka (Ilokano)	Irrigating canal	ko-ló-kol
A post	to-xod	Spring	i-nu-man; a-su-lan
My home	bálei-ko	Water	cha-num
Torch (resinous pine wood)	(sa-leng)	Roof	bu-bu-ngan
		Granary	a-lang
Mat	i-xá-men	Shanty	a-bong

Weapons, implements, and utensils

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bow of wood	be-kang ni pa-na [1]	Buyo	kal-kal-en [2]
Bowstring	gua-nit ni pa-na	Knife (bolo)	a-tak
Arrow	pa-na	Sheath	a-tip
Notch in end of arrow for bowstring	sed-da	Gun	pal-tok
		Fork	te-ne-rol (Sp., tenedor)
Arrow shaft of wood	pa-na ki-u	Tablespoon (wooden)	i-rus
Arrow shaft of reed	pa-na bido	Knife:	
War club	pá-pa	Small open knife	ta-ad
War spear	ka-yang	Penknife	dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta)
Fish spear	ta-ra-pang	Plate (imported iron or earthen ware plate)	ping-kan
Shield	ka-la-sai		
Fish line	i-xit		
Fishhook	bing-nguit	Cup (tabo, a bowl made of one-half of a cocoanut)	ung-ot
Net for catching fish	bal-cho		
Pipe (of any material)	kua-ko	Olla	bang-a
		Copper kettle	kam-bang
Pipestem (of reed or of wood)	bu-qing	Waterpot	sa-lao
		Sieve	a-xi-ak
Fish basket	bug-lut	Plow	a-ra-cho (Sp., arado)
Tobacco	ta-ba-ko	Harrow	sa-lui-sui
Cigar	pá-ris	Sickle	chá-kem
Cigarette	sa-ka-ril-dyó (Corr. Sp.)		
Betel nut	bú-a		

[1] The bow is not in use now in this tribe. The word "quiver" might be rendered *balei-to ni pana* (house of the arrow).

[2] Not used by the Ibaloi. Buyo is a piece of betel nut (the fruit of *Areca catechu*) wrapped in a folded leaf of "piper betel" (T., ikmó), the latter having first been coated with lime made from oyster shells. The little disk so formed, called "ichó" in Tagalog, is chewed by the natives all over the Islands.

WOODEN WARE

Mortar [1]	du-son	A hollow calabash to bring water in	kú-be
Pestle [1]	ba-yo		
A bamboo to bring water in	daó-as	A wooden food tray [2]	chú-yo

[1] For threshing and hulling rice.

[2] Carved out of one piece, comprising one or two bowls for boiled rice and meat, with saltcellar, etc.

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Weapons, implements, and utensils—Continued

IRON TOOLS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Axe	gua-sai	Knife point	ngo-ro
Adze	cham-pak	Knife edge	tá-rem
Hoe	kab-yûn	Borer	ko-ló-kol
Knife	tá-ad	Hammer of stone or iron	pá-pa
Knife handle	sa-lung		

Miscellaneous articles

English	Nabaloi
Horn ladle	i-rus dya sak-dud
Flute	tu-la-di
Drum	su-li-bao; kim-bal
Gong or metal plates	kal-sa; pin-sak
Split cane, humming when beaten against wrist (not used during rainy season)	pá-kong (I., bu-kang-kang)
Small tin or brass plate with tongue cut in center; held before mouth and struck with thumb (the jew's-harp)	kó-ding

BASKET WARE

Basket for sweet potatoes, carried on back and supported by band passing over the head	ka-yá-bang
Rude skeleton basket for exporting Irish potatoes	sa-li-an (pronounced "salyan")
Large bowl-shaped basket of fine workmanship to keep rice or coffee beans	tad-tad
Small but strong wicker basket worn hung from the shoulder; the "pocket" of the half-naked Igorot	pál-teng
Square or oval traveling basket, sort of "tampipi," but the two halves hinged together on one side as a portmanteau; high-class workmanship	u-fi-kan
General carrying rack for men	chá-gi

IMPLEMENTS FOR SEWING, WEAVING, SPINNING, ETC.

Thread	sai-ot
To sew	ma-ná-it
To embroider	man-pad-dá
To cut	kom-pól
Needle	cha-kom
Scissors	ká-di
Buttons	bu-ti-nis (Sp., botones)
Cotton cloth, white with blue or red border stripes[1]	ko-lu-bao
Cotton cloth, multicolored, striped stuff; black, blue, red, yellow stripes[1]	bá-ked
Cotton cloth, chequered design, black and red or black and white squares[1]	kam-bai-yá-cho

[1] Ilocano cotton stuffs most in use among Igorot.

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Food

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Food	ma-kan	Coffee	ká-pe (Sp.)
Meat {Uncooked	a-á-pag	Tea	i-tsa
Meat {Cooked	ma-sí-dan[1]	Oranges	ma-rang-kas (Sp., naranjas)
Soup (broth)	chí-gu		
Bread	ti-na-pai[2]	Lemons	lú-ban
Corn (green)	ti-ge	Papaia[4]	pa-pá-dia
Milk	ká-tas	Salt	a-sín
Honey	díng-ket ni po-dio-kan	Sugar (molasses)	díng-ket
Juice	chá-num (water)	Sugar (other kinds)	ma-sam-it
Sweet potatoes	dúk-to[3]	Vinegar	su-ka
Boiled rice	i-na-pui	Lard	da-neb
Roast meat	kin-dut	Eggs	ex-duk
Fried meat	i-sang-deu	Jerked beef	ta-pa
Fish	i-kan	Banana	bá-lad
Beef	a-á-pag ne ba-ka	Cocoanut	ni-og
Pork	a-á-pag ne ké-chil	Chocolate	cacao (Sp.)
Potatoes	pá-pas	Mango	mang-ka
Onions	da-só-na		

[1] *Masidan* is generally anything eaten along with rice or camotes.
[2] Bought from the Christians.
[3] Sanskrit, Ruktaloo.
[4] The fruit of Carica papaya.

Colors[1]

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Scarlet	am-bá-lang-a	Black	an-tó-leng
Vermilion		Blue	
Red		White	am-pu-ti
Brown		Grey and sorrel	
Purple		Green	vil-che (Corr. Sp.)[2]
Roan		Yellow	chu-yao[3]

[1] As will be seen, there is a remarkable deficiency in distinction of colors among the Igorot, there appearing to be only three terms—*ambálanga* (red), *antóleng* (black), and *amputi* (white). The other colors are rather forcibly brought under one of these three main colors, according to their shade and to the individual opinion of the spectator.
[2] Vivid green (light, fresh green of grass or leaves) is called *ma-á-ta*, but this word covers really only the meaning of "vivid."
[3] Igorot pronunciation of the Ilocano word "du-yao."

Numbers

CARDINAL

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
One	sa-xéi	Eight	gualo
Two	chúa	Nine	dsí-am
Three	tád-do	Ten	sam-pú-lo[1]
Four	áp-pat	Eleven	sa-wal ne sa-xei
Five	dí-ma	Twelve	sa-wal ne chua
Six	an-nim	Thirteen	sa-wal ne táddo
Seven	pit-to	Fourteen	sa-wal ne áppat

[1] *n* before *b*, *p*, or *m* generally becomes *m*.

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Numbers—Continued

CARDINAL—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Fifteen	sa-wal ne dima	One hundred three	san da-sus tan taddo
Sixteen	sa-wal ne annim	One hundred four	san da-sus tan appat
Seventeen	sa-wal ne pitto	One hundred five	san da-sus tan dima
Eighteen	sa-wal ne gualo	One hundred six	san da-sus tan annim
Nineteen	sa-wal ne dsiam	One hundred seven	san da-sus tan pitto
Twenty	chúa-púlo	One hundred eight	san da-sus tan gualo
Twenty-one	chúa-púlo saxei (or kad-do ne saxei)	One hundred nine	san da-sus tan dsiam
		One hundred ten	san da-sus tan sam-pulo
Twenty-two	chúa-púlo chua		
Twenty-three	chúa-púlo taddo	One hundred eleven	san da-sus tan sam-pulo tan saxei
Twenty-four	chúa-púlo appat		
Twenty-five	chúa-púlo dima	One hundred twelve	san da-sus tan sam-pulo tan chua
Twenty-six	chúa-púlo annim		
Twenty-seven	chúa-púlo pitto	Two hundred	chua dasus
Twenty-eight	chúa-púlo gualo	Three hundred	taddo dasus
Twenty-nine	chúa-púlo dsiam	Four hundred	appat dasus
Thirty	taddo-pulo	Five hundred	dima dasus
Thirty-one	taddo-pulo saxei (or ka-ap-pat ne saxei)	Six hundred	annim dasus
		Seven hundred	pitto dasus
Forty	appat-pulo	Eight hundred	gualo dasus
Fifty	dima-pulo	Nine hundred	dsiam dasus
Sixty	annim-pulo	One thousand	san dibo
Seventy	pitto-pulo	One-half (in length)	ka-gu-chua
Eighty	gualo-pulo	One-half (in quantity)	
Ninety	dsiam-pulo	All	a-min
One hundred	san da-sus	Some	á-chum
One hundred one	san da-sus tan saxei	None	an-chi
One hundred two	san da-sus tan cuha		

ORDINAL

First	ma-pang-du	Eighteenth	mai sawal ni gualo
Second	mai-kad-gua	Nineteenth	mai sawal ni dsiam
Third	mai-kaddo	Twentieth	mai chua pulo
Fourth	mai kapat	Thirtieth	mai taddo pulo
Fifth	mai kadima	Fortieth	mai appat pulo
Sixth	mai kadannim	Fiftieth	mai dima pulo
Seventh	mai kapitto	Sixtieth	mai annim pulo
Eighth	mai kagualo	Seventieth	mai pitto pulo
Ninth	mai kadsiam	Eightieth	mai gualo pulo
Tenth	mai kasampulo	Ninetieth	mai dsiam pulo
Eleventh	mai sawal ni saxei	One hundredth	mai san dasus
Twelfth	mai sawal ni chua	Two hundredth	mai chuan dasus
Thirteenth	mai sawal ni taddo	Four hundredth	mai appat dasus
Fourteenth	mai sawal ni appat	Five hundredth	mai dima dasus
Fifteenth	mai sawal ni dima	Seven hundredth	mai pitto dasus
Sixteenth	mai sawal ni annim	Thousandth	mai san dibo
Seventeenth	mai sawal ni pitto	Last	man-ú-nud

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Numbers—Continued

NUMERAL ADVERBS DENOTING REPETITION OF ACTION

English.	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Once	pinsak	Fourteen times	pin-sawal appat
Twice	pinchua	Fifteen times	pin-sawal dima
Thrice	pintaddo	Sixteen times	pin-sawal annim
Four times	pinappat	Seventeen times	pin-sawal pitto
Five times	pindima	Eighteen times	pin-sawal gualo
Six times	pinannim	Nineteen times	pin-sawal dsiam
Seven times	pinpitto	Twenty times	pin chua pulo
Eight times	pingualo	Thirty times	pin taddo pulo
Nine times	pindsiam	Forty times	pin appat pulo
Ten times	pinpulo	Fifty times	pin dima pulo
Eleven times	pin-sawal saxei	One hundred times	pin dasus
Twelve times	pin-sawal chua	Five hundred times	pin dima dasus
Thirteen times	pin-sawal taddo	One thousand times	pin dibo

MULTIPLICATIVES

Two-fold	to-pe	Thirteen-fold	sawal taddo tope
Three-fold	taddo tope	Fourteen-fold	sawal appat tope
Four-fold	appat tope	Fifteen-fold	sawal dima tope
Five-fold	dima tope	Sixteen-fold	sawal annim tope
Six-fold	annim tope	Seventeen-fold	sawal pitto tope
Seven-fold	pitto tope	Eighteen-fold	sawal gualo tope
Eight-fold	gualo tope	Nineteen-fold	sawal dsiam tope
Nine-fold	dsiam tope	Twenty-fold	chua pulo tope
Ten-fold	sam pulo tope	Thirty-fold	taddo pulo tope
Eleven-fold	sawal saxei tope	Forty-fold	appat pulo tope
Twelve-fold	sawal chua tope	Fifty-fold	dima pulo tope

DISTRIBUTIVES

One to each	san-sis-kei saxei	Fourteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan appat
Two to each	san-sis-kei chua		
Three to each	san-sis-kei taddo	Fifteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dima
Four to each	san-sis-kei appat		
Five to each	san-sis-kei dima	Sixteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan annim
Six to each	san-sis-kei annim		
Seven to each	san-sis-kei pitto	Seventeen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan pitto
Eight to each	san-sis-kei gualo		
Nine to each	san-sis-kei dsiam	Eighteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan gualo
Ten to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo		
Eleven to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan saxei	Nineteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dsiam
Twelve to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan chua	Twenty to each	san-sis-kei chua pulo
		Thirty to each	san-sis-kei taddo pulo
Thirteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan taddo	Forty to each	san-sis-kei appat pulo
		Fifty to each	san-sis-kei dima pulo

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Measures

English	Nabaloi
Dry measures for rice, coffee, etc.:	
Small, round, open basket, depth and diameter of which are held to correspond with measures taken from length of a finger and from span between outstretched thumb and first finger, respectively	ta-páng-an
Two sizes: (1) Contents selling at 1 real = 12½ cents, Mexican; (2) contents selling at 2 reales = 25 cents, Mexican	
Also the "caban" introduced by Spaniards and commonly represented by four times the contents of the rectangular five-gallon oil can	
Long measures:	
To measure	mai-dó-xod
Length of first finger	do-xod
Span between tips of outstretched thumb and middle finger	ká-guan
From middle of breast to tip of middle finger of outstretched arm	vara (Sp.); or, ka-gu-chua chi-pa
Full spread of both arms from tip of one middle finger to the other	chi-pa
Land measures:	
(1) For rice fields, the number is stated of bundles of paddy yielded by the fields	appat pulo katanai[1]
(2) For pasture land, the number of cattle is stated that find sufficient pasture on the area in question	kus-to ni bung-dé[2]
Weight measures for gold dust (a pair of scales)	ta-lá-dyo
Weight of Mexican dollar or old Spanish "Carlos" dollar	tim-bang pi-sus
Weight of Spanish 50-cent piece	tim-bang sálapi
Weight of Spanish 2-real piece	tim-bang bin-ting
Weight of Spanish 1-real piece or of bronze piece coined by the Igorot	tim-bang si-ka-pat

[1] = Forty bundles of paddy. [2] = Sufficient for 50 head of cattle.

Division of time

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
A year	taó-en	Night	kal-bian, a-dá-wi
A moon	bú-lan	Sunrise	na-a-kou
One-quarter waxing moon	i-xai ba-lal-to	Morning	ka-bu-bú-san
		Midforenoon	si-ma-kit i-si-kid
Two-quarters waxing moon	tad-do ba-lal-to	Noon	ka-a-kau-an
		Afternoon	i-nás-gil
Three-quarters waxing moon	mang-ka buk-nal	Sunset	i-nai-si-pi-sib
		Dusk	a-dá-wi
Full moon	mai-ping-il; or, a-buk-nol	Evening	i-ma-chem
		Midnight	i-nan-kau-a e da-wi
Three-quarters waning moon	a-pig-ni-san	Day before yesterday	ka-chi-man saxei
		Yesterday	ka-chi-man
Two-quarters waning moon	mang-ka-ko-ó-tik	To-day	ni-man
		To-morrow	ka-bua-san
One-quarter waning moon	a-ko-ó-tik	Day after to-morrow	bu-as-to
		Now (adverb)	ni-man
Moon showing rim of light	ned-ned; or, de-ned	Past time (adverb)	nun-tan
		Future time (adverb)	a-kai, a-sa-nem
Day	a-kou	A second or instant[2]	saxei ka-ri-nub-da-an
A day (24 hours)	saxei a-kou tan saxei a-da-wi[1]	Dawn	mang-kai-tel-guag

[1] One day and one night.
[2] In the sense of a very short time. (Lit.: Time for a few whiffs of tobacco.)

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Standards of value

English	Nabaloi
0.01½, Mexican (2 cuartos, Spanish)	san si-mon
0.02½, Mexican (4 cuartos, Spanish)	chua si-mon
0.03½, Mexican (6 cuartos, Spanish)	taddo si-mon
0.05, Mexican (8 cuartos, Spanish)	appat si-mon
0.06¼, Mexican (medio real, Spanish)	si-ka-gúa-lo
0.12½, Mexican (1 real, Spanish)	si-ka-pát
0.25, Mexican (2 reales, Spanish)	bin-ting
0.20, Mexican (peseta)	a-lin-ta-rós[1]
0.37½, Mexican (3 reales)	taddo ba-gé
0.50, Mexican (4 reales)	sa-lá-pi
0.62½, Mexican (5 reales)	kad-gua sikapat
0.75, Mexican (6 reales)	kadgua bin-ting
0.87½, Mexican (7 reales)	kadgua taddo ba-gé
1.00, peso, Mexican (8 reales)	pi-sus[2]

[1] Corrupted from "treinta y dos"—that is, 32 cuartos.
[2] Corrupted from "peso." In former times the Igorot understood by *pisus* 50 cents, Mexican, and even nowadays one hears occasionally the expression *pisus i xudut* (50 cents, Mexican) and *pisus cristiano* (1 peso, Mexican).

Animals

MAMMALS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bat	pa-ning-ke	Goat	kal-ching
Carabao	nú-ang	Kid	ki-lao ne kal-ching
Cat (wild)	mú-tit	Wild hog	a-ni-mu-lok
Dog	a-sú	Horse	ka-ba-dyo (Sp., caballo)
Deer	ma-xá-goas[1]	Pig	ke-chil
Mouse (stone)	bu-ed	Sucking pig	but-bu-tóg
Rat (common house)	o-tot	Young sow	da-wás
Monkey	ba-xes	Mother sow	ká-ang
Cow	ba-ka (Sp., vaca)	Boar	mul-mul
Bull	ka-da-ki-an ne ba-ka[2]	Eagle	pú-xao

[1] See under "Noun." [2] Or *kal-ki-an ne ba-ka.*

PARTS OF THE BODY OF MAMMALS

Antlers	sak-dud	Muscle	úl-po
Anus	u-bed	Meat	a-á-pag
Bone	pu-xil	Paw	ka-lu-mot
Brain	u-tœk	Penis	bu-to
Claw	ka-lu-mod	Rib	tag-dang
Dung	ta-e	Rump	u-bed
Fat	da-neb	Skull	pu-xil ne tok-tok
Fur	bá-go	Stomach	bi-tú-ka
Hoof	ko-ko	Skin	ba-dát
Hide	ka-tát	Tail	i-gol
Horn	sak-dud	Tendon	u-lat
Hair	bu-œk	Teeth	sang-i
Heart	pu-so	Tongue	chi-la
Intestines	so-sot	Testicles	bu-tik
Joint	am-deng	Womb	ka-a-na-kan
Liver	al-tei		

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Animals—Continued

BIRDS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bird	pa-yad	Crow	uák
Hen	u-bú-an	Hornbill	ka-lou
Cock	kao-i-tan	Heron and crane	bi-til
Jungle hen	ubúan ni man-ma-nok	Spine	kwat
Jungle cock	kaoitan ni man-ma-nok	Parrot	u-ling-eb
		Parroquet	u-lis
Wild duck	nga-la	Pigeon	ka-la-pá-ti; or, ka-lum-pá-te
Hawk	pú-xao		

PARTS OF THE BODY OF BIRDS

Feathers	bá-go	Head	tok-tok
Bill	ngú-sib	Neck	buk-dou
Mouth	bungot	Body	ang-œl
Gizzard	ka-lang-a-han	Back	bung-neg
Intestines	su-sút	Wing	pa-yad
Eye	ma-ta	Tail feathers	pól-chus
Ear	tang-i-da	Leg	ul-po
Nostril	a-deng	Foot	sa-di
Eyelid	pa-lo-mai-at	Toe	kó-xo

FISH, ETC.

Fish	i-kan	Crab	ka-dang
Eel	ki-wod		

PARTS OF THE BODY, ETC., OF FISH

Mouth	bung-ot	Eye	ma-ta
Breast fin	i-fai	Bladder	bi-rung
Belly fin		Gall	áb-ko
Back fin		Scales	sik-sik
Tail fin		To swim	mang-ai-kai

REPTILES, ETC.

Frog (small)	bak-bak-án	Snake (big)	i-reu
Lizard (big)	ti-lai	Snake (small)	u-lœg
Lizard (small)	a-du-ti-id		

INSECTS

Ant, three kinds	a-bu-bu-kau	Flea	te-mil
	ú-bo	Fly	a-pang-at
	kab-kab	Grasshopper	bu-dá-deng
Bedbug	ki-tep	Locust	chu-ron
Bee	po-dió-kan	Louse	ku-to
Beetle (tumblebug), two kinds	ki-is	Maggot	di-mas
	dog-dog	Mosquito	i-mok
Butterfly	bul-búl-o	Spider	a-kai-aú-gua
Caterpillar	ku-báo-eng	Wasp (yellow)	a-bi-ung-an

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Plants

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bud of tree	man-bub-ngis	Brush	dó-ot
Leaf	bu-long	A flower	bung-a
Limb	pang-a	Forest	ka-kiú-an
Outside bark	ta-pák	Fruit	da-mœs
Body of trunk	bâg-dang	Grass	a-det
Stump	tong-öt	Thicket	sab-nid
Root	da-mot	Ripe	adúum
Tree	po-on	Unripe	á-neng (Lit.: "Not yet")
Wood	kí-u		

Geographic terms

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
North	a-miá-nan	River	pá-dok
East	chá-ya	Waterfall	mai-pai-as-pás
South	a-ba-gá-tan	Lake	ambánao chanum (broad water)
West	dá-ut; or, lá-ut	Sea	bai-bai
Mountain	chun-tuk	Country (of a nation or people)	bú-dai
Hill	pél-og	Town	ili[1]
Plain	chák-dan	Village	ili[1]
Spring	a-sú-lan; í-nu-man	Group of Igorot houses	ba-lei (houses)
Hot spring	a-sín (salt)		
Brook	sing-i		

[1] The Ilocano word "ili" is used, but mostly to designate Christian towns.

Geographic names[1]

Names of towns of the Ibaloi Igorot:

Sablan: A certain tree with brilliant red blossoms.
Chakdan; or, daklan: A level place in the hills.
Kapaway (old name of rancheria Baguio): Open, grass-covered lands.
Balangawan: A place where red soil shows at the surface.
Thus also:
Kaptangan: The warm land—that is, the warm foothills and plains west and south of Benguet.

[1] Names to designate certain places or localities, whether inhabited or not, are commonly taken from the most prominent or most noteworthy natural features of the same.

Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Cloud or clouds	kul-pot; or, al-bĕng	Current	a-yus
Sky	dang-it	Eddy	dí-wun
Horizon	ki-lig ni dang-it	Overflow (big water)	abatek chanum
Sun: As cause of light	á-kou[1]	Rain	ú-ran
Sun: As cause of warmth	si-kit	Thunder	ke-rul
		Lightning	ba-gí-dat

[1] For comparative study bear in mind that the very darkly pronounced "ou" in *akou*, *pdlou* and similar words is the "ao" of the Ilocano.

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Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Moon	bú-lan	Wind	cha-gœm
Full moon	ping-il	Whirlwind	a-di-fut-fut
Planets and stars	tá-lao	Typhoon	pû-œk
Aurora	mam-bub-tak i si-kit	The ground	bú-dai
Rainbow	bung-dul	Dust	dep-pok
Fog	kul-pot	Mud	pi-toi
Frost	ang-chap	Sand	bi-sil
Hail	dan-te	Salt	a-sin
Water	chá-num	Rock, stone	ba-to
Image reflected by water	a-di-rum	Earthquake	yek-yek
		Shower	san a-te-xan e ú-ran
Shadow		Heavy rain	ma-chi-kis úran
Foam	u-sab	Morning star	Ma-mú-as
Wave	cha-du-yon		

Kinship

LINEAL DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING[1]

English	Nabaloi
My son	a-nak-ko
My son's son	á-po-ko nanpinsak
My son's daughter	
My son's son's son	á-po nan kapinchua
My son's daughter's son	
My son's son's daughter	
My son's daughter's daughter	
My son's son's son's son	á-po-ko nan kapintaddo
My son's son's son's daughter	
My son's son's daughter's son	
My son's son's daughter's daughter	
My daughter	anak-ko
My daughter's daughter	á-po-ko nan pinsak
My daughter's son	
My daughter's son's son	á-po-ko nan kapinchúa
My daughter's son's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's son	
My daughter's daughter's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's son's son	á-po-ko nan kapintaddo
My daughter's daughter's son's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's daughter's son	
My daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter	

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING[1]

My father	a-mak
My father's father	ama nan amak
My father's mother	i-na nan amak
My father's father's father	á-po-nan amak
My father's father's mother	
My father's mother's father	
My father's mother's mother	

[1] Lineal descendants of self, female speaking; lineal ascendants of self, female speaking; and first collateral line, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

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Kinship—Continued

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING—Continued

English	Nabaloi
My father's father's father's father	ama nan ápo nan amak
My father's father's father's mother	ina nan ápo nan amak
My mother	i-nak
My mother's father	ama nan inak
My mother's mother	ina nan inak
My mother's father's father My mother's father's mother My mother's mother's father My mother's mother's mother	á-po nan inak
My mother's mother's mother's father	ama nan ápo nan inak
My mother's mother's mother's mother	ina nan ápo nan inak

FIRST COLLATERAL LINE, MALE SPEAKING[1]

My older brother	a-gik pang u-du-an
My older brother's son My older brother's daughter	anak nan agik panguduan
My older brother's son's son My older brother's daughter's daughter My older brother's son's son's son My older brother's daughter's daughter's daughter	á-po nan agik panguduan
My older sister	agik panguduan
My older sister's son My older sister's daughter	anak nan agik panguduan
My older sister's son's son My older sister's daughter's daughter My older sister's son's son's son My older sister's daughter's daughter's daughter	á-po nan agik panguduan
My younger brother	agik urichian
My younger brother's son My younger brother's daughter	anak nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's son's son My younger brother's daughter's daughter	á-po nan urichian-ko
My younger sister	agik urichian
My younger sister's son My younger sister's daughter	anak nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's son's son My younger sister's daughter's daughter	á-po nan urichian-ko

[1] See footnote on page 162.

AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING[1]

My son's wife	asagoa nan anak-ko
My son's son's wife My son's daughter's husband	asagoa nan apo-ko
My daughter's husband	asagoa nan anak-ko
My daughter's son's wife My daughter's daughter's husband	asagoa nan apo-ko

[1] Affinities through relatives descendants of self, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

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Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING[1]

English	Nabaloi
My wife	a-sa-go-ak
My wife's father	ama nan asagoak; or, inapok
My wife's father's father	á-po nan asagoak
My wife's father's mother	
My wife's father's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's brother's wife	asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's sister	pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's sister's husband	asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My wife's mother	ina nan asagoak
My wife's mother's father	á-po nan asagoak
My wife's mother's mother	
My wife's mother's brother	pangamáan nan asagoak
My wife's mother's brother's wife	asagoa nan pangamáan nan asagoak
My wife's mother's sister	panginán nan asagoak
My wife's mother's sister's husband	asagoa nan panginán nan asagoak
My wife's elder brother	agi panguduan nan asagoa
My wife's elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's younger brother	agi urichian nan asagoak
My wife's younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My wife's brother's son	anak nan agi nan asagoak
My wife's brother's daughter	
My wife's elder sister	panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's elder sister's husband	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's younger sister	urichian nan asagoak
My wife's younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My wife's sister's son	anak nan agi nan asagoak
My wife's sister's daughter	

[1] See footnote at bottom of page 163.

AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES, FIRST COLLATERAL LINE

My elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's wife's sister	agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's son's wife	asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's daughter's husband	
My elder brother's son's son's wife	asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's daughter's daughter's husband	
My elder sister's husband	asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's husband's sister	agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's daughter's husband	asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's son's wife	
My elder sister's son's son's wife	asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's daughter's daughter's husband	
My younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's son's wife	asagoa nan anak urichian-ko
My younger brother's daughter's husband	
My younger brother's son's son's wife	asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's daughter's daughter's husband	
My younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's son's wife	asagoa nan anak nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's daughter's husband	
My younger sister's son's son's wife	asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's daughter's daughter's husband	

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Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, FEMALE SPEAKING

English	Nabaloi
My husband	asagoak
My husband's father	ama nan asagoak
My husband's father's father	apo nan asagoak
My husband's father's mother	
My husband's father's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's brother's wife	asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's sister	pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's sister's husband	asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My husband's mother	ina nan asagoak
My husband's mother's father	a-po nan asagoak
My husband's mother's mother	
My husband's mother's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's mother's brother's wife	asagoa nan pangaméan nan asagoak
My husband's mother's sister	panginéan nan asagoak
My husband's mother's sister's husband	asagoa nan panginéan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother	panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's younger brother	urichian nan asagoak
My husband's younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's son	anak nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's daughter	
My husband's elder sister	panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's husband	asagao nang panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's younger sister	urichian nan asagoak
My husband's younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's son	anak nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's daughter	

Ordinal names of children

English	Nabaloi
The first-born child (male or female)	anak panguduan
The second-born child (male or female)	adi-to nan panguduan
The third-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinchua
The fourth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapintaddo
The fifth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinappat
The sixth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapindima
The seventh-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinannim

Various social terms

English	Nabaloi
Male orphan, father dead	ang-ú-so
Male orphan, mother dead	
Male orphan, father and mother dead	
Female orphan, father and mother dead	
Female orphan, father dead	
Female orphan, mother dead	

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Various social terms—Continued

English	Nabaloi
Father whose children have all died	inabsúan; or, achágas amin anak-to
Mother whose children have all died	
Stillborn male child	a-neng kabuknól-to; or, a-neng kada-gá to[1]
Stillborn female child	
Family	bu-nak
Head of family	ama tayo (our father)
Relatives	ka-ba-kian
Number of families recognizing one common headman	ba-lang-kai
A rich man	saxei a bák-nang
A poor man	saxei a a-bí-tek
An adopted child	si-u mán
The oldest men of the place	suta asixen na angka; or, suta asixen na bayag
A servant	saxei a úbing; or, óxob
The priestess, or old woman executing the superstitious formulas at festivals	man-bu-bú-nong
Persons possessing the "evil eye" ("den bösen Blick"), or witch	man-ma-lá-sik

[1] These two terms mean "not yet formed" and "unfinished."

Festive slaughterings and drinking bouts

English	Nabaloi
On childbirth	man-ta-i-din
To cure sickness	a-gas; or, chi-lus
At funerals (with exposure of dead body)	dab-sak
At marriage	man-i-din
Of other social character	set-páng
	bat-bat
	ka-fe
	pe-chit
	sap-nak
Of the poor or ordinary people controlled by a rich man	ka-i-dian (I., kailian)
Gathering of neighbors to help gratuitously one of their number in some heavy labor with subsequent slaughtering of an animal ("log rolling")	mai-ka-mai

Government

English	Nabaloi
Councilman	man-to-tó-dak; or, man-tab-táb-al
Meeting of principal men of one valley to administer justice	ma-tong-tong
Friend (one of the tribe)	ka-i-sing (I., gai-yem)
Friend (one of another tribe)	
Enemy (one of the tribe or two persons hating one another)	a-nú-gis
Enemy (one of another tribe)	ka-bú-sol
Slave (servant, such as the son of a debtor, etc.)	óxob

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Government—Continued

English	Nabaloi
Follower	ká-et
War	bá-kal
A coward	ti-méng-dao; or, ti-má-xot
Battle	bá-kal
War whoop	tap-ngan
A brave man	ma-ta-kal a-lé
God (the Supreme Ruler, the white man's God)	chi-us
The supreme god of the Igorot	ka-bu-ní-an[1]
The ancients; venerable beings of the past	á-med
The future world	pú-lag[2]
The specters of dead people	ma-king[3] mal-kut (I., al-al-ia)
The peculiar solemn condition which an Igorot (or a whole family) believes himself to be in and which he is required to keep up, under penalty of punishment from the *ma-king*, at certain phases of his life (marriage, death of a parent, etc.)	pi-diu[4]

[1] This god seems to be recognized by the Igorot all over the northern part of Luzon. His most sublime manifestation in Benguet is the Sun. But there is no especial worship rendered him in Benguet or it is forgotten in the special attention required by the troublesome *ma-king*.
[2] Supposed to be situated somewhere far away to the east.
[3] If a snake, which in the woods avoids man, comes to the house it is looked upon as *ma-king* and not killed.
[4] The Igorot, while *pidiu*, must not bathe, must not admit visitors into his house, and must not work, travel, etc. (English, "to be under a spell").

Mortuary customs etc.

English	Nabaloi
Dead body Corpse of man Corpse of woman Corpse of boy Corpse of girl	ang-œl nan á-tei
Spirit or soul	adí-rum
Grave in the ground	a-nai-bœg-ká-an
Scaffold for the dead	a-ra-dan
Grave in a cave	dí-ang
Coffin	ko-long
Funeral festival	tó-xal; dab-sak
The wailing	dú-dyeng
Bark arm band worn around the wrist by members of mourning family	ka-ring bi-nal-bal
Funeral meal to provide departed soul with food; on occurrence of death	pa-u-dú-fan
Funeral meal at the tomb of a dead relative, with the idea of reconciling his specter by food, etc., offered to him	ma-u-ká-ten

Bodily conditions, etc.

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Sickness Pain	sa-kit	A blind man A blind woman	saxei a kú-rab
Indisposition Vertigo	kol-ko-li-dí bud-bu-ding-et	A blind boy A blind girl	saxei a a-á-nak a kú-rub

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Bodily conditions, etc.—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Headache	man-kil-kil e tok-tok	One eyed	a-ṭu-ni-ngan
Toothache	ket-ket	A deaf men	a-tî-leng
Cold	na-alœg	A deaf woman	
Ague	man-a-apui-ang-el	A deaf boy	saxei a a-á-nak atî-leng
Fever		A deaf girl	
Diarrhea	o-toi	Breath	ang-sab
Rheumatism	pil-li	Sweat	ding-et
Smallpox	bul-tong	Blood	chá-la
A boil	bal-og	Urine	mi-mi
A sore	cha-nu-man i-na-ket	Dung	tá-e
A cut	i-na-ket	Medicine	á-gas
A scar	man-ka-pi-get	A medicine man	man-á-gas
A swelling	di-má-rag	A medicine woman	
Beri-beri	man-bû-tot	Medicine dance, song, and lodge	(1)
A sick man	saxei a man-sa-kit	A dream	dyó-kou
A sick woman		A vision	chim-kas
A lame man	saxei a pi-lai	A witch	manmaláṣik;[2] or, man-tá-la[3]
A lame woman		A wizard	
A lame boy	saxei a a-á-nak a pi-lai		
A lame girl			

[1] In Igorot belief all kinds of sickness can be cured by the slaughtering of a pig, that universal remedy for all Igorot suffering, attributed mostly to the ill-will of the *ma-king* (departed souls). This cure is called *agas* or *chilus*; to make it efficient the *manbúnong* (priestess) must be called in to go through the proper formulas or ceremonies.

[2] "The Malays of Menangkabao (Sumatra) call *palasik* or *palasi-ek* sorcerers which at nightfall separate their heads and bowels from the trunk. The head flies about to suck the blood of newborn children and lying-in women." (Translation from Blumentritt's Diccionario Mitológico, Apendice, in La Solidaridad, 15 April, 1904.)

[3] One is supposed to live in Balingway—name, *Si-náp-chan*—supposed to have cursed Cauao's father and caused him to move from Paduk to another town. Saved by putting spear in a dog betwéen two bolos. Also one in Takian.

Amusements

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Doll	si-nan-to-o	Song	bá-deu
Gourd rattle	a-mai-yo	Dance	tai-yau
Stilts	ka-ma-chang	Mask	ki-yet
Swing	á-yud	Game at dice	pa-á-dek

New words

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Horse	ka-ba-dyo (Sp., caballo)	Hog	ke-chil
		Cat	pusa; or, ngi-au
Colt	bu-má-lo	Kitten	kú-ting nan púsa
Bull	kal-ki-an nan ba-ka	Cock	kao-i-tan
Ox	ba-ka ka-fon; or, better, ba-ka a ka-fon (Sp.)	Hen	u-bú-an
		Saddle	sil-dya (Sp., silla)
		Saddle pad	ap-ap
Cow	ba-ka (Sp., vaca)	Bridle	pirino (Sp., freno)
Calf	ki-lao nan baka	Girth	din-cha (Sp., cincha)
Sheep	kal-nero (Sp., carnero)	Rope	guá-net

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New words—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Whip	bá-ras (Sp., vara)	Pants	kal-son (Sp., calson)
Crupper	pang-i-ko-la (Sp., baticola)	Shoes	sa-fa-tos (Sp., zapatos)
		Boots	bo-tas (Sp.)
Auger	ko-ló-kol	Slippers	si-ne-las (Sp., chinelas)
Iron arrowhead	du-djub	Stockings	medias (Sp.)
Iron point in general		Handkerchief	pan-dyo (Sp., paño)
Awls of metal	sub-dil; or, guis-guis	Bread	ti-ná-pai
		Flour	arina (Sp., harina)
Beads	ún-no	Rice, coffee, meal	ti-ne-peng
Broom	sí-si	Match, friction	mai-ko-sit ne ku-ra-bis[1]
Cloth	a-bœl		
Comb (small)	sá-gú	Box of matches	ku-ra-bis
Comb (big)	sa-gai-sai	Candle	kan-chi-la (Sp., candela)
Clock	di-rus (Sp., reloj)		
Knife (small)	tá-ad	Sugar	ding-kit am-puti
Penknife	dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta)	Soap	sa-bón (Sp., jabon)
Fork	tene-rol; te ne chol (Sp., tenedor)	Tobacco	tabako (Sp.)
		Whisky	uiski (English)
Gimlet	ko-ló-kol o-ó-tik	Wine	á-dak
Hoe	kap-yun	Claret	kin-to (Sp., tinto)
Hammer	pá-pa	Finger ring	sing-sing
Brass kettle	kambang	Mirror	sam-ding
Iron kettle	kalchero (Sp., caldero)	Fan	pai-pai
Tin plate	pin-kan na ka-ná-ka	House	ba-lei
Plow	a-rá-cho (Sp , arado)	Roof	bu-bung-an
Scissors	ka-dí	Window	ta-ua
Table	da-mi-sa-an (Sp., mesa)	Door	du-so-kan; or, usokan
Watch	di-rus (Sp., reloj)	Schoolhouse	es-kue-da-an (Sp., escuela)
Pistol	pal-tog o-ó-tik		
Revolver	Do-bel-bel (Sp., revolver)	Church	sim-bá-an
		Gate	di-teb; or, pás-bul (entrance)
Gun	pal-tog		
Rifle	chi-fle (Sp., rifle)	Barn	á-lang
Ramrod	set-set	Pencil	da-pis (Sp., lapiz)
Cannon	ka-niún (Sp., cañon)	Pen	pluma (Sp.)
Bullet	bu-xel	Ink	tinta (Sp.)
Cap, percussion	kapsula (Sp.)	Paper	Pá-fel (Sp., papel)
Powder	bud-bú-ra (Sp., polvora)	Book	dib-cho (Sp., libro)
		Newspaper	di-ral-dyo (Sp., diario)
Saber	kam-pi-lan	Road	chá-lan
Brass	gui-sing	Wagon	careton (Sp., carreton)
Copper	kam-bang	Bridge	tai-tai
Gold	ba-li-tok	Well	bú-bon
Iron	dán-chok	Railroad	ferro-carril (Sp.)
Lead	dú-bai	Railroad car	te-ren (Sp., tren)
Silver	pí-lak	Railroad engine	maxina nen ferro-carril (Sp.)
Money	pí-lak; or, ka-meng		
Cap or hat	ok-dop	Steamboat	pa-vol (Sp., vapor)
European hat	sam-bi-la-cho	Telegraph	telegrama (Sp.)
Ilokano hat	ka-du-bong	Telegraph wire	bu-cheng
Coat { Black / Light	sa-ke-ta (Sp., chaqueta) / bá-ro	Interpreter	mang-i-goat
		Blacksmith	dyu-fu-an
Shirt	bá-ro	Trader	man-via-xe (Sp., viaje, voyage)

[1] To make fire by rubbing a stick against another, *mangulidi*.

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New words—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Christian, professor of religion	ki-ris-tya-no (Sp., cristiano)	Claim, complaint	chik-dam-mo (Sp., reclamo)
Catholic priest	pa-re (Sp., padre)	Soldier	sun-cha-ro (Sp., soldado)
Law	din-teg[1]		
Lawyer	a-bo-gá-ro (Sp., abogado)	Cabbage	chi-fol-dyo (Sp., repollo)
Lawmaker	ma-ngi-din-teg		

[1] *Dinteg*, the same as the Spanish "derecho," means both "law" and "straight."

Personal names[1]

MALE

Abadus	Busong	Kiral	Pataras
Agoyos	Chalus	Kiwung	Pauid
Akop	Chigot	Kolkol	Payad
Alam-am	Chimud	Kudiasan	Pick
Aleu-eu	Chuntugan	Kuigno	Piil
Alineu	Chupdi	Kulili	Pikipik
Alus	Chutkil	Kultet	Pinau-an
Anaban	Dalos	Kumangan	Pinisui
Angsil	Damsis	Lang-eu	Piraso
Apulog	Danguis	Laoyang	Poól
Askai	Dugis	Lomiris	Pukai
Ayaman	Gilit	Lubnas	Pukdis
Badanis	Guaxat	Lumaktao	Pukingan
Bagdaien	Impiso	Maieng-meng	Salmeng
Bago	Ixang	Malintas	Saxai
Baias	Kalpo	Mangus	Silo
Baka	Kamanteles	Maranas	Sim-sim
Bantasan	Kambunil	Milo	Sioko
Bantayan	Kambutil	Mising	Sunchuan
Banug	Kamising	Motal	Tágak
Barot	Kam-ol	Mura	Takai
Baxes	Kamsol	Omaldio	Tekel
Bayangan	Karui	Pad-nus	Tekuan
Bias	Kial	Paknga	Toktokan
Binunga	Kiang	Palanyus	Uai-uaya
Buanse	Kichil	Palispis	Uakdin
Bukai	Kigangan	Palkungan	Ualis
Buktong	Kilguan	Palungias	
Busilan	Kil-os	Parisas	

[1] Ibalois, like the old Ilocanos, have the custom of changing their names at certain events in their life, as the death of a parent or a sickness, for others which they consider to augur better for the future. Their aversion to pronouncing their names when they are asked for them has already been mentioned.

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES OR WORDS

Agusting	Domingis (Dominguez)	Kiñelmo (Guillermo)	Ofisina (oficina)
Akiral (Aguilar)	Durenso (Lorenzo)	Kolas (Nicolas)	Orasion (oración)
Alumno	Elias	Kuan (Juan)	Pafel (papel)
Alvares (Alvarez)	Espiritu	Kuanso (Juancho)	Pistola
Amistad	Fiansa (Fianza)	Maldiano (Mariano)	Sarate (Zarate)
Antondyo (Antonio)	Kadus (Carlos)	Mateo	Valches (Valdez)
Damaso	Kalpio (Policarpio?)	Montes	

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Personal names—Continued

FEMALE

Agamei	Dumdya	Katadun	Mulé
Bayosa	Dumina	Kichang	Polincha
Bidai	Indakas	Kindya	Saria
Biinek	Kabingkut	Kintana	Sinaged
Buna-ay	Kalumis	Kotnon	Sulikam
Chadin	Kaobi	Kufit	Taabok
Chudimai	Karamei	Midaing	Tadaka
Dabudya	Kasima		

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES

Elen (Elena)	Maria	Sepa (Josefa)
Kasinta (Jacinta)	Sabina	Tia

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THE IBALOI IGOROT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

ACCOUNT OF A SPANISH EXPEDITION TO BENGUET IN THE YEAR 1829[1]

[Translated from Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (by S. Mas), Madrid, 1842: Diary of Don G. Galvey, in command of the forces for the suppression of contraband trade.]

This was the first expedition on which I penetrated into the interior. On my preceding ones I had not gone beyond the first mountain chain, as the large fields of tobacco planted clandestinely, which I had to destroy, detained me many days, and when my provisions were exhausted I had to return to the towns.

I had heard some Igorot say that beyond the great mountain called "Tonglo," which overlooks Santo Tomás and Agoó and is one of the noteworthy mountains of Luzon, there was a very large town situated in a broad and fertile valley the inhabitants of which were very rich and brave people and made war upon the pagans of the foothills. But no one of the Igorot who were my friends had the courage to guide me or even knew the road. They knew, it is true, the direction and the point where the town lay, but were not acquainted with the precise trail to be taken in the midst of so many ups and downs and intricate windings. At last I induced my first Igorot friend, Pingue, to guide me, promising myself to find the road, if I were to lose it, with the help of my compass. I assembled in Agoó two officers, three sergeants, six corporals, and fifty troops, with 200 polistas[2] to carry provisions and baggage, and in the afternoon of January 4 set out toward the east. Following the bed of the river of Agoó till 6 o'clock I reached a barrio of this town called "Tubao." Here I passed the night.

Fifth day.—I started at 5 o'clock in the morning to march toward the southeast, and entered the bed of the River Aringay. This we followed for one hour, until we reached the foot of the mountain, when we

[1] The character of this expedition, which was only one of many similar ones undertaken by the intrepid Galvey, will be best understood by the following remark made by Mas in his Informe, chapter "Población," page 11: "These idolaters [the Igorot] cultivate in some regions immense fields of tobacco, which they introduce into the provinces. The consequence is the ruin of the tobacco revenue, the necessity of maintaining guards and troops to check this lawlessness, the extortions which these very officials commit in the towns, and, in short, so many expenses and troubles that it has been necessary more than once to send out special commissioners, and that this has come to be a question of arduous solution. In other regions they molest the peaceful Christian towns and render the roads so dangerous that it is not possible to pass over some of them without an escort."

[2] Forced carriers.—[TRANSLATOR.]

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began to climb. This first ascent is very tiresome, and as the first mountains are thickly grown over, being covered with dense undergrowth, we marched with great difficulty. At 9 we arrived at a small village called "Pilauang," situated on a prominence from which the coast is visible. I was received by the headman, called Milo, but I found nobody else in the village, as all the inhabitants had fled, taking with them all their possessions. I treated Milo to the best, and he has since been very useful and loyal to me. At this place I had the rations served out. At 12 we pursued our march toward the north-northeast, wending our way up hill through a "cogonal,"[1] where, with the sun right overhead and reflected by the cogon grass, we suffered an indescribable heat. At 3 we entered a wood which we followed till 5, when we halted at a small village of eight houses called "Luceng." Its inhabitants had escaped, but I was received by an Igorot who brought me a basketful of camotes and other tubers as a present. This was the headman, named Pipiuan. We passed the night here.

Sixth day.—We started at dawn after many difficulties. I obliged Pipiuan to go in front, promising to set him free in the first village to which he should lead me. We marched toward the northeast. At 6 o'clock we saw upon a height a village which Pipiuan told me was Munglan; we went on and reached it at 8. We found it deserted. We continued our march across fields of sweet potatoes, and going down hill passed a well in which we found a bow and arrow, the ground being sprinkled with blood. My guides told me that this was a very bad sign, since it signified that the Igorot wanted to fight us. I reassured them, and, walking on for an hour and a half, we arrived at a small plain called "Tabao," where I halted to give time to eat. My intention was to continue the march in the afternoon, but Pingui advised me to pass the night here because on the road ahead of us we would meet with many difficulties, in the midst of which it would not be well to be surprised by the night. I therefore resolved to remain, and posted sentinels around the camp to guard against a surprise.

Seventh day.—I started at daylight. After crossing a small valley we began descending through very dense cogon. We advanced very slowly, as we found the trail blocked up with trees laid across it, and a number of other obstructions. At 9 o'clock we heard wild shouts and perceived a crowd of armed Igorot on the opposite range. At the same time it became impossible to advance. The path was beset with small, very sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo, and some of *palma brava*[2] driven into the ground, and with deep pitfalls covered with grass and furnished with bamboo spears in the center. There was also another kind of trap, called "balitil" by the pagans, which is made by placing two drawn bows with arrows ready to let fly, concealed in the high cogon grass, one

[1] A tract of tall, sharp grass, often as a high as a man on horseback.—[TRANSLATOR.]
[2] *Coripha minor.*—[TRANSLATOR.]

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at each side of the trail. From these bows a small and well-concealed string leads to the path, and when this string is trodden on the two arrows fly off with such force as to pass easily through a carabao.[1] Of these arrows, some are aimed so as to hit the body, others the legs. It was necessary to order ten men to the front who, little by little and with great difficulty and risk, removed the traps one by one, but not before these had wounded and disabled in less than an hour a sergeant and fourteen men, who afterwards had to be carried. Finally at 1 in the afternoon we reached the bottom of a ravine, where we found a river called the "Cagaling," which is the same stream that flows past Aringay and has its source on Mount Tonglo. We took our rations in all haste, as the Igorot were in a commanding position and our situation was critical. For this reason I wished to gain the height in order to pass the night in greater safety. At 3 in the afternoon I commenced the ascent toward the southeast. Halfway up the slope, which was very steep, rocky, and slippery, the Igorot attacked us with a shower of stones, but a volley from our side put the enemy to flight, with the loss of one man killed, whom they carried off. At half past 5 we arrived at a small level place on the flank of a mountain. We built our camp here and passed a miserable night, during which it did not cease to rain. This spot is very picturesque. At a short distance in front we had Mount Tonglo, round which we had walked and upon which we discerned a village; a big waterfall rushed down into the Cagaling River at our feet; toward the east were graceful hills covered with green, and toward the south immense pine forests with here and there a hut.

Eighth day.—We left the camp at 6 in the morning, marching southeastward. After crossing a small brook we climbed the hill called "Tamon." On top we saw a group of Igorot without arms who were shouting that they wished to speak to me. I ordered my men to tell them, in reply, to approach without fear; but they were unwilling to come near until I sent them two men as hostages. Thereupon four Igorot came forward and presented themselves to me tremblingly; they were from Benguet. They asked me whither we were going; I answered them that we were going to their town. "And what do you want to do in Benguet?" they asked. "See your country and make friends with the Igorot." They told me thereupon that they were sent by their headman, Dansalit. I presented each one with a handkerchief and told them to go back to Benguet and assure Dansalit and their other countrymen that they had nothing to fear, as I intended no harm to them. They went back to the others and all disappeared through the cogon, taking their way eastward through a ravine. In a moment they were out of sight and I took up the march again. At 8 I came upon the first pine trees; the road

[1] Water buffalo.—[TRANSLATOR.]

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became quite open—no cogon, no underbrush. This fact reassured me considerably, as I feared a surprise. I halted at 11 at a brook and had the rations distributed. At 1.30 I continued the march, turning toward the east. The country here is magnificent and, though it is hilly, one may go on horseback without difficulty. On all sides we found small valleys, some of them well under cultivation and all susceptible of producing whatever might be wished.

We saw large herds of carabaos, cows, and horses. The soil was red and sticky in some places. At 4 in the afternoon we discovered from the heights the beautiful valley of Benguet, the lovely sight of which surprised us all, so that even the soldiers gave vent to their admiration by joyful shouts. On coming nearer we saw a great many people running in all directions and shouting wildly. I commanded my men to load the guns, and hoisted a white blanket on a pole as a sign of peace. But it was all of no effect. I went down hill and on arriving at the bottom of the valley we found ourselves before a river of considerable size and of crystalline water. This we forded and shortly afterwards came upon the beautiful fields of Benguet. We had scarcely advanced a few paces when two Igorot planted themselves before us, spear in hand and shouting furiously. I ordered six men to run up to them and capture them—if possible, without doing them any harm. These men were attacked by the Igorot, who hurled their spears at them, one of which knocked off the sun helmet of a soldier, but by dint of blows with the butt ends of the guns the Igorot were at last disarmed and bound. They were drunk, and nothing was to be got out of them but menaces and insults. I directed my steps toward a group of houses at one side of the valley and there halted. Soon afterwards four Igorot were brought before me, one of them the son of Dansalit. They had been caught armed, hidden in a well. To the son of Dansalit I expressed my surprise at the reception they were giving us. I told him to go back and tell the headmen to come to see me on the following day and to assure them that no harm would be done them, but that if they attacked me I would burn down their village.

I put out my sentries and an advance post was on the alert all night. Benguet is a valley of a league and a half or more in circumference; it is surrounded with springs, and forms a basin. The soil was very well cultivated, with immense fields of sweet potatoes, gabe,[1] and sugar cane, but I saw no paddy in this tract of land. All was well irrigated and fenced in by dividing lines of earth after the manner of Spain, and provided with wells. The houses, which numbered some 500, were of broad pine boards but very dirty. It is in this valley that I have proposed to establish the capital of the district.[2]

The night was very quiet, but the bottom of the valley was covered with fog. It was very cold, and at 11 o'clock the thermometer stood at

[1] Caladium, a kind of esculent root.

[2] The word in the original is "Corregimiento"—that is, the district of a Corregidor.

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7° above zero (Réaumur). We saw many fires on the heights, and at daybreak all the surrounding hills were covered with armed Igorot. I perceived at once that their intentions were not the best. I had two rations served out. At 8 the valley was full of pagans, who little by little approached our camp with shouts. I detached an officer with twelve men with orders to keep them back. Shortly afterwards he opened fire, but without thereby putting the Igorot to flight; and seeing the officer entirely surrounded by them, I started with twenty men to his rescue, leaving the rest of my troops drawn up in charge of the other officer. I also commenced firing together with the first officer, and we killed a number of people and captured twelve Igorot. We also had six wounded on our side. The Igorot retired little by little and were pursued by me as far as the hills after the firing had lasted four hours. It was already 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I returned to the camp, which I reached at 3.15, carrying with me my wounded, and the prisoners, who were all drunk. The pagans, on seeing me retire, came down the valley again and took up a position at a distance of a gunshot and a half. During the night half of us slept at a time while the rest watched, and we were alarmed only a few times by the shouts of the savages.

Ninth day.—At daybreak I found myself again surrounded by the pagans, who were more furious than the night before. I resolved to give them a lesson. I started with all my troops and carriers, firing and making for the largest group of houses. On the way we caught fifteen prisoners, of whom we left one who had his leg pierced by a ball. Arriving at the houses, I set fire to them, burning down some hundred and eighty, and returned to the camp followed by the Igorot and firing upon them while retiring. After eating I prepared to take up my return march to the towns. My two guides, Pingui and Pipiuan, had escaped during the heat of the fight, but as I had twenty-eight Igorot prisoners I had them put in front with orders to guide us till we should arrive at Aringay, warning them if they did not do this I would shoot them, but that if they proved good guides I would set them free. We started at 2 in the afternoon, going southwest and climbing one of the hills. The Igorot on seeing us leave followed our rear guard, but I kept them back by firing a few shots at them from time to time. At 5 I camped on a level place on a ridge called "Vaiara," where I passed the night quietly.

Tenth day.—I gave my troops a rest; during the whole day I saw Igorot only far off. We were surrounded by pine trees.

Eleventh day.—We broke camp at dawn, descending a very steep and stony slope with deep precipices on both sides. At 11 we halted and in order to make a camp had to cut the cogon and rattan with which we were surrounded. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we started again

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and descended continually until 5, when we halted at a brook to pass the night.

Twelfth day.—After following the brook from 4 to 6, we passed through a village of twelve houses called * * *.[1] The Igorot fled with much shouting; at 11 we halted in a wood. We marched at 2 in the afternoon toward the southwest and halted at 5.

Thirteenth day.—After some ups and downs, and after having cut down some tobacco, we reached, at half past 10, the village of Talex, where I had been already. The inhabitants received me. In the afternoon I went on descending toward the west, and at 4 camped on flat ground by a small stream.

Fourteenth day.—At daybreak I started, following the stream with much difficulty, and made a halt at 11 in Rongos, on the banks of the Aringay River. I started again at 2, following the river, and after having forded it four times I arrived at 5 at the town of Aringay.

This expedition, though short, served me well for those I made later, as the Igorot of Benguet shortly afterwards asked me for peace and have since been my friends. On different expeditions I have passed eight or ten times through their valley, and, far from attacking me, they have treated me with kindness, providing me with rice, cows, and other food. Still, as a consequence of this expedition and of smallpox, this town has been reduced to about a hundred houses. I am, however, doing everything possible to make it flourish again, and my highroad reaches there.[2]

[1] A blank in the original.—[TRANSLATOR.]

[2] To-day there are only nine houses in that valley.—[AUTHOR'S NOTE.]

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THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN

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PREFACE

The following report on the Bataks of Palawan has been recently received from Lieut. E. Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. The additional information which follows his report is from two papers issued by the Division of Military Information, Philippines Division—the one, pamphlet No. 16, articles on the tribes of Palawan, translated by Capt. E. A. Helmick, Tenth Infantry, the other, an article in manuscript, by Manuel Hugo Venturello, also translated by Captain Helmick.

There is very little authentic information about these people of Palawan. So far as is known, the photographs taken of them by Lieutenant Miller, reproductions of which appear herewith, are the first which have ever been made of them. It will be noticed that Lieutenant Miller and the writers of the two other articles are in close agreement on such details as are given, one supplementing another.

There is at least one group of people in this part of the world who bear almost the same name as these Bataks of Palawan. They are the Battas or Battak[1] who live in the northern half of Sumatra, between 1½° and 2½° north latitude. Their neighbors on the north are the well-known Achinese, with whom the Dutch have been so long at war. The resemblance between the names Batak and Batta, or Battak, is probably merely accidental and does not indicate any early connection or relation between the two peoples. Marsden, in his History of Sumatra, page 294, says of them:

> The Battas are in their persons rather below the stature of the Malays, and their complexions are fairer; which may perhaps be owing to their distance from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

Their complexion removes them a long distance from the Bataks of Palawan, as does also the fact that they have attained a considerable degree of culture. They have a language and written characters of their own, and a large proportion of the people can read and write. They were, it is true, some years ago known to practice cannibalism, but cannibalism does not necessarily indicate a low stage of culture, especially when it is practiced for ceremonial reasons. These references are made to the Battas of Sumatra to bring out the fact that, although

[1] Battak is the plural of Batta. See Keane, Man: Past and Present, p. 245, footnote.

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the name is similar to that of the Bataks of Palawan, there is no reason for thinking there is any connection between the two peoples.

The courtesy of the officials of the Division of Military Information in permitting the use of their printed and manuscript information about the Bataks is gratefully acknowledged.—[ED.]

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THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN[1]

The peculiar primitive people known as Bataks are to be found in the mountains in the interior of Palawan, about 40 miles north of Puerto Princesa, back of the coast villages of Babuyan, Tinitian, and Malcampo. They number about 600 men, women, and children. Among themselves they are peaceable and hospitable. Usually several families live in a single large nipa hut, divided only by lines or sticks on the floor to mark the limits for each separate family. Each small settlement is governed by an old man who settles minor disputes or takes them to the chief of the tribe.

People from other non-Christian tribes and the Christian Filipinos do not molest the Bataks or encroach on their territory because of the difficulties encountered in reaching the places where they live and also from fear of the blowgun, the favorite weapon of the Bataks.

They are a very shy people and do not mingle or intermarry with the other native tribes, so they have retained their peculiar customs. If a white person is seen approaching, the women and children will run to the jungle and hide. It is almost impossible to see even the men unless arrangements are made in advance with the chief to gather the people together and to assure them that they need have no fear. Gifts of food and tobacco and kindly treatment soon win their confidence. They are then no longer shy and their peculiar customs may be studied.

They resemble somewhat the Negritos of the Philippines, but seem more like descriptions given by travelers of the wild inhabitants of the interior of the Malay Peninsula.[2] They have long, kinky hair and thick lips, and some have hairy faces and bodies. The hair stands out over the head like a bush. They are small in stature, but well formed. The men are slender, but the women are usually fat. Fatness seems to be a mark of beauty among the young women.

They live close to nature. They do not cultivate the soil except to set out a few plants which yield edible roots, and in a few places plant small fields of rice. In addition to rice and roots their food consists of wild hogs, monkeys, snakes, lizards, and honey. Wild animals are killed by means of the blowgun, from which they shoot a small poisoned

[1] By Act No. 1363 of the Philippine Commission, enacted June 28, 1905, the name of the Province and Island of Paragua was changed to that of Palawan. In Volume I and in the first part of Volume II of the publications of The Ethnological Survey the name Paragua was used.

[2] The author is doubtless thinking of the Semangs, the name by which the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula are known, or the Sakais, a people of mixed Negrito and Malayan blood.—[Ed.]

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dart. The wound from the dart is not severe, but the poison kills the animal in a short time. When the game is captured the hunter cuts out the meat from around the wound and throws it away. The rest is placed in a bed of coals and roasted. They have no cooking utensils.

Besides the little cultivating which they do, their only industries are hunting to secure food and gathering almaciga and copal tree gums which they carry to the coast and trade for rice, beads, and bolos.[1]

Their only article of dress is made from the bark of the "bago" tree. This bark is soaked in a stream until it is soft and is then pounded between stones until it becomes thin and pliable. The cloth, when dry, is usually ornamented with colored lines or designs made by vegetable dyes prepared by the natives. The men wear only the breechcloth made of this bark cloth, and the women a short skirt of the same material.[2]

For personal adornment the women use dried grasses, shells, and beads, with which they decorate their hair. They wear also long strips of colored bejuco around their bodies, decorated bands of bamboo and shell on the arms and the ankles, and shave the eyebrows. Both men and women shave the part of the head in front of a line from ear to ear over the top of the head and anoint their bodies with hog's grease.

They are easily amused and seem to be happy and contented. Their only diversion is the dancing of the men; the women do not dance. Each dancer performs alone while a companion keeps time on a native tom-tom.

The marriage ceremony is interesting. The contracting parties, with an old man and woman, squat down on either side of a dish of cooked rice. The old people each take a ball of rice and exchange, then they hand the balls to the bride and groom, who exchange them again, after which they eat the rice and the ceremony is ended. Polygyny and polyandry are permitted, but seem not to be practiced at present.

The Bataks have an extensive knowledge of the use of medicinal herbs and roots, as is proved by the fact that the Christian Filipinos who live along the coast of Palawan go to them for medicines. When a death occurs among them the body is buried and a fire is built around the grave. The house in which the death occurs is abandoned.

Their religion seems to be a worship of the bird or animal that happens to abound in their immediate vicinity. Their language is similar to that spoken by Tagbanua and Palawan tribes of Palawan.

[1] Venturello says these forest products are collected by the Bataks "only when they are employed by Christian merchants."

[2] The skirt reaches from the waist to the knees. Venturello thinks it is "hardly decent, owing to the minuteness of its dimensions."

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ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE BATAK PEOPLE

The following information, derived from articles written by Eugenio Morales, of Puerto Princesa, and Manuel Hugo Venturello, of the same municipality, is presented to supplement Lieutenant Miller's report:

The Negritos within the municipality of Puerto Princesa are distributed in the following settlements: Guinaratan River district, belonging to the jurisdiction of Malcampo, where the Bataks are without a chief or known representative, some submitting to the authority of the village, others being independent and living in the mountains of the interior; Caruray River district, in the jurisdiction of Tinitian inhabited by people of the same race living under the same conditions and with the same customs; Langugan River district, one of the most important in the municipality because of its large yield of almaciga (resin), bejuco (rattan), and other valuable natural products, occupied by Bataks who recognize the cabeza[1] of Tinitian as their chief; Tarabanan River district, settled by Bataks who recognize as chief one of their own number, a certain Lanawam; Babuyan River district, also important on account of its valuable products. There are two settlements on this river—one, called "Bayatas," located near the source of the river, a certain Barnal being chief; and the other, called "Maoyan," near the middle of its course, with a certain Siagauan as chief, who recognizes the authority of the village of Babuyan.

On the opposite coast are other settlements of Bataks in small numbers. At Caruray, on the Bay of Tibbon, is a tribe of Bataks with no known chief, but they recognize the authority of the cabeza of Caruray. Between Malcampo and Barbacan is located the settlement of Buhayan, which reaches from coast to coast. This tribe is called "Buhayanan." They are said to be the bravest and most independent of all the Bataks and to have preserved more of their savage customs than other Batak tribes.

A little to the north of Caruray and near the Bay of Tagdunan is found a tribe called "Tandolanen," who number about twenty, including men, women, and children. The people of this tribe live independently of the others, avoid all contact with them, do not form settlements or permanent dwellings, and occupy points and small islands, from which fact they get the name of Tandolanen, which signifies inhabitants of points. Their dialect is a mixture of Tagbanua and Batak.

These tribes with distinct names are well known, but there are wandering tribes that seem to have taken the name of an animal or bird or object where the chief or headman happened to be born; for instance, if the mother gave birth to a son under or near an ipil tree, he might receive the name "Ipil."

[1] "Cabeza" is a Spanish word meaning "head" and was commonly used to designate the headman of a settlement.

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Venturello says that in spite of investigations extending over twenty years, and notwithstanding his intimate relations with the native tribes, he has been unable to determine definitely the origin of the Bataks. This perhaps is not strange, but there appears no reason to doubt that they belong to the same race as the other Negritos of the Islands and are all that are left of a formerly more numerous group of Negritos in Palawan. According to information obtained from the old men of the tribes, the people of the west coast, especially of the settlement of Caruray, are the ones from whom the tribes of both coasts sprung.

Accounts given of the physical characteristics of the Bataks differ slightly. This is to be expected, as the people doubtless differ slightly in appearance from group to group, and the description given by an observer is based on some one small group and is not a generalization made from descriptions of several groups. These differences, however, are unimportant.

Thus:[1]

> As to color they do not present the true characteristics of the Negritos, but in their curly hair, thick lips, etc., they resemble that race very much. In stature they do not differ from the Tagbanuas and other Filipinos, some being tall and some short.

Venturello says of them:

> These tribes all have the characteristics of the African negro. The kinky hair is noticeable, but the color is a little lighter and the lips are not so thick. They are generally of small stature, but there are not wanting those who very much resemble the African negro.

Rice is planted in such small quantities as to yield hardly enough to supply them for more than a few months or even days after the harvest. One writer says that they set out all kinds of plants which yield edible roots, but that these amount to little on account of the custom of planting in one locality one year and moving to another the following season.

The time of the year which they most enjoy is the season when bees are most plentiful. During this time young bees and honey form their principal diet, and as long as these last they do not think of doing any work. They are said to eat more than double the amount of food which a man usually eats at one time, but this is on account of the long intervals between times of eating.

Statements about the disposition of the Batak people at first appear conflicting. If they are peaceable and friendly, as a number of people who know them say they are, why are they feared by other tribes and why have they such a reputation for using bows and arrows against their enemies? The probable explanation is simple. It is quite possible that among themselves they are peaceable but that they have been

[1] Morales, Division of Military Information, No. 16, p. 26.

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Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVI. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF WOMEN.

(Man on right has blowgun and bamboo quiver of poisoned arrows.)

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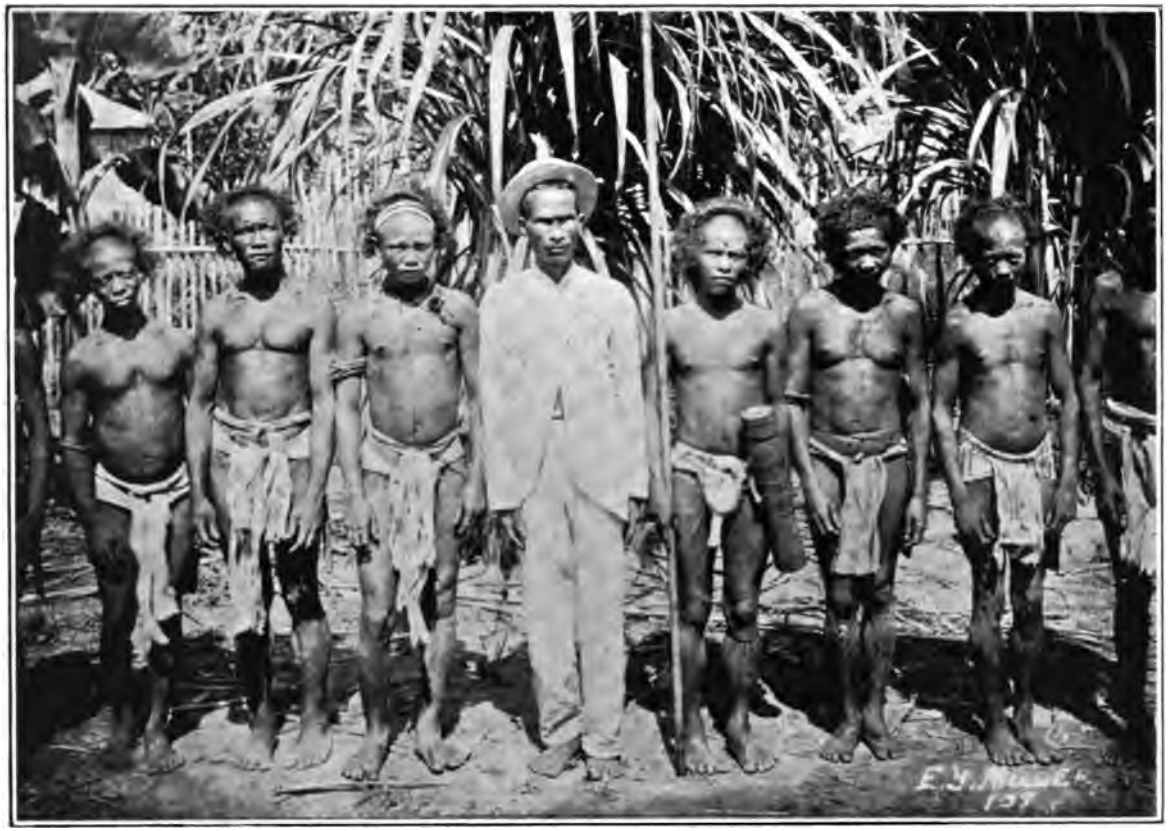

Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVII. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF MEN.

(One man has blowgun and quiver of poisoned arrows.)

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Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVIII. GROUP OF BATAK WOMEN, SHOWING FLAYED-BARK SKIRTS AND SHAVED HEADS.

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PLATE LXXXIX. GROUP OF TYPICAL BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING CLOTHING, SHAVED HEADS, AND BLOWGUN.

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PLATE XC. LARGE GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE.

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PLATE XCI. BATAK RICE CEREMONY.

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so harassed by people of other tribes that they have come to look upon a stranger as an enemy and to treat him as such. It is more than likely, however, that when a stranger has gained their confidence they are perfectly friendly. Doubtless in times past these little blacks have been many times attacked by the Malayan tribes and forced to abandon their homes and to seek others in less accessible places. Negritos in other parts of the Philippines are timid and anxious to avoid strangers. It has been noticed in Surigao that the Mamanuas who make every effort to escape from strangers will on the occasion of a second meeting, even if it is accidental, give a friendly, confiding smile and show no desire to run away.

The Bataks of Tarabanan and Langugan are said to have killed prisoners who escaped from the Spanish authorities and fled into the interior of the island. It is easy to believe, however, that these escaped prisoners treated the Bataks in such a way as to force them to retaliate.

All offenses and crimes less than murder and adultery are punishable by whipping. In the case of murder the brother, father, or other relative has the right to take vengeance in the same hour that the crime was committed, and if he does not do this is entitled to a fine of 100 chenantin, which has the value with them of about 20 pesos, Mexican currency. But the adjusters of the fine have the power of making the equivalent of the chenantin 1 peso. As marriage among the Bataks is indissoluble, adultery is punished only by whipping; but if the husband gives his consent, the woman may go with the other man, the latter paying a fine of not less than 100 bandi; if the husband withholds his consent, the adulterer, even though he does not possess himself of the woman, must pay a fine of 100 bandi. If the husband is willing, both men may have the same woman and live in the same house, but in this case the second husband is no more than a servant for the first. The first has all the authority and does no work. The same rule applies when a man has two wives.

If a boy wishes to marry a girl he has the right to ask for her, paying later a bandi (price or fine), as do the Tagbanuas of Apurahuan. Their marriages are accompanied by no religious ceremony as those of the Tagbanuas are. The rice ceremony has been described already. If the parties are rich or powerful a feast follows the ceremony.

At the birth of a child a name is given to it which is suggested by the place of birth, though there is no ceremony of any kind. The child often bears a Christian name.

All diseases which are of a contagious nature become pestilences among the Bataks, because they are extremely filthy and diseases are easily communicated. Even catarrh is a scourge among them. They are said to quarantine or drive out of the tribe those who suffer from it, and in time past even buried them alive. The most common diseases are pustules and herpes and other local troubles.

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They have no means of writing as the Tagbanuas have. When one person wishes to communicate with another he makes use of an object that suggests the idea he desires to impart. The young of both sexes make use of this means of communication when they desire to express their love, and as it has been practiced from a very early age they can understand with great ease.

Venturello gives one of their religious myths which it may be well to present in full: These tribes, like the Tagbanuas, believe in the god called "Maguimba," who in remote times came among them at the calling of a Babailan to supply their necessities and to cure the sick and raise the dead. Having been deceived and angered at one time by the Tandolanen, all of the races from the east to the west of the island were cursed and deprived of their god. The following is an account of this crime against their god: One day the Tandolanen, wishing to test the power of their god, caught a large shark and wrapped its dead body in a nipa mat, and with false tears and bewailings called upon the god "Maguimba" through the Babailan.[1] It was the habit of the god to appear in certain cases in the form of a man, and so in this case he presented himself to the assembled people and asked where the deceased was, to which those present replied pointing to the nipa bundle in the center of the room. The god arose and blessed it and opened the bundle, when the shark was found to be alive and active as if it were in the sea. Upon seeing this deception the god was greatly angered and thundered forth a sentence, declaring that from that day he would cease to succor them when they appealed to him, and cursed them, declaring that all the tribes of their race would remain subject to all kinds of suffering and death, and that he would never again raise them from the dead. When he had said this a lizard mysteriously presented itself and spoke these words like a man: "Celi celi manli," which, being interpreted, signifies, "Your sons will succeed you, then you will die." And so it happened; to this day the people are greatly afraid to hurt or kill the chameleon, that sometimes turns green and puffs out his throat upon the approach of man. Should one of these little harmless animals fall on the right arm of a man it is considered a sign that the entire family of this man will soon die; but should it fall on the left arm it signifies the death of some relative only.

When this god separated himself from these people after the curse, they substituted for him the god Paraen who was married to Benguelen, whose powers extended only to the bodily ailments and who was called upon by the Babailan only when they were curing some disease. These people claim that when the god Maguimba became offended at the deception of the Tandolanen and left them he joined the god of the Christians.

[1] Babailan is a native Philippine word which is applied to an exorcist—a man or woman, usually old—whose aid is asked, especially in cases of sickness.

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In a footnote to Venturello's paper Captain Helmick gives the following account of people whom he saw in Palawan. It would seem that many of the people whom he describes were not pure Negritos:

The few Bataks that I have seen confirm the author's statement as to their general appearance. Those I saw, with the exception of the chief, were below medium height, but had well-formed heads and splendidly developed bodies. One had decidedly frizzly hair, but the others had wavy hair and their lips were not so thick as the negro's. The chief was a man of medium size and well developed. I sent for them to meet me at the annual fiesta of the barrio of Tinitian, in the municipality of Puerto Princesa, Palawan. They could not be prevailed upon to bring their women, and were so timid that upon approach of my party they fled from the village and were persuaded with difficulty to return. Their dress consisted of a belt and breech pieces of bark which were certainly very much abbreviated, as the author [Venturello] states. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows and blowguns. They were so fond of the liquor prepared for them that nearly all of them became drunk.

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